AL-GHAZALI

The Secrets of Pilgrimage

Translated by Ibrahim Umar

THE BOOK ON THE SECRETS OF PILGRIMAGE

(KITĀB 'ASRĀR AL-ḤAJJ)

BY

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INTRODUCTION

'Al-Ghazālī, 'Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, is generally recognized as a great scholar in Islam. His refutations of the philosophers are particularly well-known. Among the great scholars and writers of Islam Al Ghazālī is distinguished for his breadth of knowledge, deep insight and common sense.

The turning point of 'Al-Ghazālī's career was his conversion to Ṣūfism in the year 1075 as a result of an attack of scepticism that had led him to doubt even the truth of his senses. 'Al-Ghazālī was a reformer by nature. Since early youth he had been a seeker after truth and certainty. He was always anxious to understand the nature of various sects and movements with which he came to contact, in order to distinguish between the true ones and the false; for the holy prophet had said, "My community will be divided into seventy three sects, only one of which will be redeemed."[1] This quest for truth was ultimately to lead Al-Ghazālī away from the life of a jurist-theologian and a philosopher to that of a ṣūfī and critic of the former life which he had deserted.[2]

As a result of his conversion to Ṣūfīsm, Al-Ghazālī experienced a spiritual revival. Adopting the life style and point of view of an ascetic, he plunged deeply into the bottomless sea of Islamic spirituality. Accordingly he sought to explore the inner meanings of the Sharia, not however at the expense of its outward aspects.

In so doing, Al-Ghazālī sought strenuously to effect a compromise between Ṣūfī spirituality and discipline on the one hand and the institu-

[1] al. Munqidh min ad-dalāl (The Deliverance From Error) p.24.

[2] Abū al-ʿUlā ʿAfīfī, p. 735; Aḥmad Sharabāsī, p.98.

tional superstructure of sunnī Islam on the other. In his famous book _'Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn_ (Rivival of the Religious Sciences) he interpreted Islamic institutions in such a way as to bring them in line with the Ṣūfī point of view. Prior to 'Al-Ghazālī's time Ṣūfism and Sunnī Islam had drifted apart. Ṣūfis and jurists tended to constitute distinct groups accusing and disparaging each other.[1] Each group had its own separate institutions which had been established and developed as the sole way of salvation. Before 'Al-Ghazālī, all books were either on figh and ḥadith (and related subjects, such as tafsīr and philology etc.) or on Ṣūfism. The only exception appears to have been the book _Qūt al Qulūb_ by Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d.996) whose example Al-Ghazālī followed.[2] To Al-Ghazālī, Ṣūfism and jurisprudence are no longer two separate sets of institutions, but are coeval and consubstantial. Whoever says that "Reality (ḥaqīqā) is contrary to the revealed law (Sharī'ā) and inner meaning (bāṭin) to the outward meaning (ẓāhir) is far much nearer to unbelief than to faith. Every reality that is not connected to the revealed law is of no account, for the revealed law has been brought to call people to the ritual devotions and the reality is to let people experience God."[3] Consequently, Al-Ghazālī accused extremists both among the jurists and the Ṣūfīs who failed to understand that Islam by nature embraces both jurisprudence and Ṣūfism. Islam, one gathers from Al-Ghazālī's writings, is confined neither to mere physical actions nor to mere spiritual experiences, such as those expressed by means of outrageous utterances called

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[1] Fazlur Raḥmān, p. 130. Ibn Khaldūn, p. 360.

[2] E.E. Calverly, p. 90.

[3] 'Iḥyā', p. 173

Shaṭaḥāt. This, however does not mean that Al-Ghazālī has rejected Shaṭaḥāt completely. On the contrary, he, as all other Ṣūfīs, has "agreed that shaṭḥ results from purification of the soul."[1] However, it must be noted that he advised a Ṣūfī not to use it frequently.[2] Furthermore, he did not accept the doctrine of "unitive state" as developed by the antinomians such as the ecstatic Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (d.922).[3] No ʿārif, according to Al-Ghazālī, is allowed to declare that he, through ecstasy, has reached the state of perceiving the reality of the essence of God, or the state of unification with Him. Though contemplation (al-mushāhadā) is the highest goal to be achieved by Ṣūfīs, this does not mean that reaching it signifies the removal of all veils.

In keeping with his criticism of scholar-jurists for their legalism and the Ṣūfīs for their excessive emphasis on experience, Al-Ghazālī re-examined the Islamic law and practices in order to show that they contain all the elements needed by Ṣūfīs and jurists alike. Ritual purification in Islam, for example, means inward cleaning from evil habits such as ostentation, conceit, hypocrisy, envy, and the like. For it is in Al-Ghazālī's view far from true to say that outward purification with clean water or its substitute (in case of tayammum) has no objectives other than the cleansing of the body.

Purification of the heart, therefore is the keynote of Al-Ghazālī's revivification not only in respect to Islamic devotions per se but in respect to all the elements that guide the Moslems in their day to day

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[1] A.S. Tritton, p. 92.

[2] al-ʾAdab fid-Dīn, p.109.

[3] The stand of Al-Ghazālī towards al-Ḥallāj.

activities. Accordingly, Al-Ghazālī discusses at length the importance of the heart in a special chapter of the 'Iḥyā' entitled 'the Wonders of the Heart'.[1] The Arabic word qalb is literally translated 'heart,' although its connotations are very different from those of the English word. In Al-Ghazālī's usage Qalb has nothing to do with the physical heart. "Heart" in English is connected with the emotions while the Arabic qalb is far more the seat of the mind. On the other hand, the English and Arabic terms share the sense of "inmost, most secret and genuine thoughts."[2]

In accordance with the above, Al-Ghazālī takes the concept of heart purification as a basis for the true fulfillment of the Law in its widest sense, that is to say as a way of life. Without heart purification, there will be no sound religion.

It is in this context that the "idea of sirr ("secret" or "mystery"), as elaborated by Al-Ghazālī, is to be understood. There is obviously a strong connection in Al-Ghazālī's thinking between this idea and the idea of heart purification. Throughout the writings of Al-Ghazālī, it is that Al-Sirr represents the inner meaning of the subject under discussion, not in the sense of an allegorical meaning as postulated by the Bāṭinites, but in the sense of a reality to be reached only through striving along the mystical path and through heart purification.[3] Al-Ghazālī emphatically rejected the Bāṭinī method of ta'wīl, or allegorical interpretation. Thus the general method

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[1] The chapter has been carefully summerized and analysed by D.B. Macdonald in his book 'The Religions Attitude and Life in Islam', Chicago, 1912, pp. 220-250.

[2] Op. Cit. p. 221.

[3] Al- 'Iḥyā', pp. 163, 171, 172, 173, 1013.

laid by Al-Ghazāli to achieve purification of the heart is to draw the attention of his reader to the inner purpose behind every item of the law.[1]

Needless to say, Al-Ghazālī does not in cultivating this method mean to neglect the other aspects of the Law. On the contrary, Al-Ghazālī is very much a jurist-theologian, and juristic questions come first in his order of treatment, with Ṣūfī themes following close behind. The most striking example of this is to be found in the method of organization of the "Iḥyā'." It is obvious that the first quarter of the 'Iḥyā' in general, with only one exception, is arranged according to the books of jurisprudence. The exception here is the opening chapter on knowledge. However, the arrangement of the 'Iḥyā' does not follow that of the books of jurisprudence slavishly. Al-Ghazālī constantly juxtaposes Ṣūfī ideas with the strictly juristic material, and follows very closely in his writings the approach laid down by the jurists. A mere glance at the standard works on jurisprudence and hadith is quite sufficient to indicate such a similarity. The table of contents of Kitāb al-hajj in the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī or The Muwaṭṭā of Mālik ibn 'Anas, for example, gives ample evidence of the similarity in subject matter between them and al-Ghazālī's 'Iḥyā'. However, this similarity is not as total as turned at first appear to be. In order to test

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[1] It may be noted that the word sirr is, for Al-Ghazālī, closely related to the word hikma or wisdom and purpose, if not synonymous to it. The notion of the "wisdom of the Law" is widespread among later scholars down to the present day. Innumerable books have been compiled on this topic since Al-Ghazālī's time: the most famous among them are: "Hujjat al-Lāh al-Bāligha" by Waliy Allāh Shā al-Dahlawī; "al-'Ibāda: "Aḥkam wa 'Asrār" by Dr. 'Abdul Halim Mahmoud; "al-'Ibāda fi al-'Islām" by Yūsuf al-Qardāwi. "al-Ṣalāt wa maqāṣidihā" by al- Tirmidhī.

this hypothesis, I propose to discuss the structure of al-'Ihyā' as compared with that of al-Bukhārī in their respective chapters on Pilgrimage.

The first point which needs mention is the main characteristic of hadith literature. This may be seen as mechanistic and consists of two components: transmisson and 'isnād'. Transmission or 'riwāya' is means, briefly, the act of receiving and transmitting the Prophetic Tradition and 'isnād' is its ascription to a chain of authorities on which the tradition is based. al-Bukhārī is not only strict in observing the regulations controling the 'riwāya' and 'isnād', but also observes the minutest difference between 'riwayas'.

If the rigid observance of the rules of 'riwāya' and 'isnād' is a distinguishing feature of hadīth, can the same be said of a book on jurisprudence like al-'Ihyā' ? The answer is unquestionably in the negative. But is it correct to assume that there is no 'riwāya' or 'isnād' in the 'Ihyā' ? This assumption is inestimable. al-'Ihyā' is full of different materials: verses of the Quran, sayings of Prophet and statements of Companions, Successors and the Founding Fathers. And all these, if specially arranged, are capable of being classified under hadith literature. Furthermore, al-'Ihyā' is not a book of jurisprudence in the real technical sense of the word. So that, there is something in common between al-'Ihyā' and al-Bukhārī's Sahīh. This is the 'riwāya' in the sense of narrating the Prophetic Tradition. To this end, there is no sharp difference between the two books. Technically, the narration of hadith is strictly brought under control of certain regulations that are carefully studied in the sciences of hadith literature. A sharp line of demarcation between al-'Ihyā' and al-Bukhārī's Sahīh can be marked out here. While we find al-Bukhārī tops

the list of ḥadith collectors for his strictiness in adhering to the regulations of 'riwāya', al-'Iḥyā', frankly speaking, tends to ignore them. al- Bukhārī collected only sound hadith with their full chains of transmitters, but in al-'Iḥyā' we find all sorts of ḥadith, very many of them weak and fabricated. A few ḥadith only were mentioned without transmission in al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ, and they are therefore called the 'suspended.' The quality of these is not to be compared with al-'Iḥyā.'

Second point to look into has to do with the methodology followed by al-Bukhārī and al-Ghazālī when compiling their books. The target in mind, in the case of al-Bukhārī, was to collect all possible sound ḥadith available; hence the title 'The Extensive Book on Sound Ḥadith'. al-Ghazālī, on the contrary, did not think that way. He aimed at a compendious book not on hadith only, but on the Islamic Sciences in general.

In the light of this, we find a great difference between al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ and al-'Iḥyā', in respect to the materials on Pilgrimage. The arrangement on chapters is the first feature in the two books that shows quite clearly the great difference between them. al-Bukhārī listed 218 chapters in his book on Pilgrimage, but al-Ghazālī lists only three chapters and several subdivisions totalled nine in all. The average number of ḥadith in every chapter of al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ is one hadith, while the total number of ḥadith in the 'Book on the Secrets of Pilgrimage' by al-Ghazālī is 97 only. The second aspect of differentiation between al-Bukhārī and al-Ghazālī, so far as arrangement is concerned, is the content of chapters. Each chapter in the Ṣaḥīḥ contains one or two items, i.e. 'the chapter on that which is prohibited for the pilgrim to wear', 'the chapter on entertaining a pilgrim with drinks', 'the chapter on he who joints together

the two prayers [Ẓuhr and ʿAṣr] but without performing supererogatory prayers in between', 'the chapter on he who drives forward his sacrificial camel','the chapter on he who bought his sacrifice while he is still halfway to Mecca and put the necklace upon it'. This 'Tarjamā' or interpretive gloss of al-Bukhārī's states quite clearly the import of each item individually.

Refering to al-Ghazālī, we find that the observation is reversed. Items are taken collectively, and, in most cases, without reference to the ḥadith that originates their usage. The most striking examples here are the two most important chapters on Pilgrimage. They are as follows:

1. Part II on the criteria [that determine] whether an individual is under obligation to perform the Pilgrimage and whether the essentials [of the Pilgrimage] and those things which have been enjoined and those things which have been prohibited [with reference to it] have been validly observed.
2. An explanation of the hidden acts: how one is to be sincere in one's intentions (nīyā); how one is to receive edification from the Holy Places, and to reflect upon them, keeping in mind their secrets and meaning, from the beginning of the Pilgrimage to the end.

If we analyse these two chapters, we can see quite obviously that al-Ghazālī has accumulated all the criteria as to what to do or not to do, in addition to the hidden acts that are 'the duties of the heart'.

A possibly generalized but I believe quite pertinent ~~inegement~~ comment on both writers might well be that al-Bukhārī was a COMPIIER whilst al-Ghazālī

was a WRITER. The difference between COMPILER and WRITER in this context being, COMPILER means a mere collector of the materials without paying much attention to interpreting them, whilst the WRITER means the opposite. An examination of the Book on Pilgrimage in al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ is sufficient to tell us very clearly that the first and the last duty of al-Bukhārī was to collect the data, sort it and classify it into suitable chapters. The 'Tarājim' or personal interpretive element arises pragmatically out of the material itself.

Al-Ghazālī, on the other hand is a writer who set in his mind not only to collect data but to interpret it and correct the wrong notions about it. Consequently, al-Ghazālī called his book 'Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-dīn' or 'The Rivival of the Religious Sciences'. The success he obtained is attributable to his breadth of mind, deep insight, wide knowledge and social understanding in addition to his acute psychological observations. All these factors helped him to analyse and interpret the rites and secrets of the acts of worship.

In what follows we will attempt a brief survey of sections of the 'Iḥyā' which deal with the acts of worship ('ibādāt). It will be our purpose to see how al-Ghazālī accomplishes his task of expounding the secrets of Moslem's devotions. The reader is asked to keep in mind a point already made, namely that the core of al-Ghazālī's scheme of revivification is the purification of the heart, an idea which distinguishes his method from that of the jurists. The following survey will hopefully demonstrate the degree to which al-Ghazālī's conception of sirr is linked up with that of heart purification.

A central theme which runs throughout al-Ghazālī's discussion

of the acts of worship is expressed in the following tradition of the Prophet, which is quoted by al-Ghazālī; "The worship was prescribed and the Pilgrimage and the Circumambulation [of the Ka'bā] commanded and the Pilgrimage ceremonies were enacted as law only to institute remembrance of Allah", so that, consequently, "Whenever you do not have any exaltation or awe in your heart for the One Remembered, who is the one to be sought and desired, of what value is your remembrance?"[1]

Ritual prayer, to begin with, draws much of al-Ghazālī's attention and he treats it in a manner unprecedented among earlier jurists, with great thoroughness he analyses all of its component parts, giving each its full due, with the aim of guiding the devotee to the core of its reality. In the language of metaphor, he states that "The worship, for you, is an offering and a valuable present with which you draw near to the presence of the King of Kings, such as a young slave-girl, that one seeking proximity to a sultan presents to him. This present is offered to Allah, and then is returned to you on the greatest Presentation Day. So yours is the choice either to make its form beautiful or to make it ugly. If you do well it is for yourself. If you do wrong you wrong yourself."[2]

In attempting to convince the devotee that the real fruit of his prayer depends on how much attention he pays to his prayer, al-Ghazālī reminds him that the command of God to institute the Prayer does not mean simply to go through the mechanics of prayer; rather, it means to be mindful

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[1] 'Ihyā', p. 268, translated by E.E. Calverley in 'Worship in Islam', p. 55.

[2] Calverley, p. 83.

while praying of what one is saying or doing. Otherwise, the devotee is not an institutor of the prayer, for the Prophet has been reported as saying, "A creature gets from his prayer only what he comprehends of it."

On the whole, al-Ghazālī considers the Prayer to be in its entirety an act of the heart. Consequently, every institutior of the Prayer must bear in mind that whenever he hears the call of the Muazzen he must evoke in his heart the dread of the call on Resurrection Day, and prepare himself outwardly and inwardly[1] against the external and internal causes of distraction.

Al-Ghazālī's thinking about Prayer is most fully elaborated under the heading of the "inner realities which bring the life of the Prayer to perfection." These "inner realities" are, (1) "the presence of the heart, (2) understanding, (3) magnifying, (4) awe, (5) hope, and (6) shame facedness."[2]

They are for al-Ghazali the sole gateway to the spiritual ascent. "Know," he declares in conclusion, "that keeping the Worship free from faults, and devoting it solely to the Face of Allāh, and the payment of it in accordance with the inward stipulations which we have mentioned of humbleness, magnifying and shame, are the cause of securing illuminations in the heart. These illuminations become keys of the unveiled knowledge."[3]

Coming to the next pillar of Islam, the Zakāt, al-Ghazālī follows the same method as in the previous chapters. His main purpose is to

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[1] ʿIhyā', p. 296, quoted from Calverley's translation, p. 106, with slight changes.

[2] Ibid., p. 289, with a free choice from Calverley's and Grunebaum's translations, pp. 93, 116, respectively.

[3] ʿIhyā', p. 305, translated by Calverley, pp. 120-121.

"unfold its mysteries, its previous and hidden rules, and its outward and inward significance."[1] He begins with the different kinds of Zakāt, then concentrates on three main points. These are: (1) The rules that govern the payment of Zakāt, (2) The rules that govern the receiving of Zakāt and (3) The excellence and rules of voluntary almsgiving. In discussing the first point, al-Ghazālī mentions five things to be observed by the payer, namely: intention, promptness in paying, avoidance of paying substitute, restraint against taking the Zakāt out of one's town to another, and the necessity of distributing it among the different groups mentioned in the Quran (9:60).[2] To these juristic rules are added what al-Ghazālī calls "the inner rules of Zakāt": if the payer is really seeking through his Zakāt the road to the hereafter he must understand the reason why it is obligatory and significant, then pay it before it is due, secretly or publicly, avoid taunt and injury, belittle the gift, give from the best of his wealth, and select as the recipient of his Zakat one worthy of it.[3]

Al-Ghazālī places great emphasis on the importance of these rules as prerequisite to every sound payment. He gives special attention to the subject of taunting and injury as well as to the subject of selecting a worthy recipient. The payment of Zakāt in accordance with the rules thus set forth is, for al-Ghazālī, an effective treatment for the heart. "The heart," he says "cannot be treated except by means of knowledge and works."[4] "Knowledge" here has reference to "the knowledge of

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[1] 'Ihya', p. 379, translated by N.A. Fāris, p. 3, with slight changes.

[2] '*Ihyā*', pp. 384-387.

[3] '*Ihyā*', pp. 387-401

[4] '*Ihyā*', p. 395, trans. Faris, p. 41

the truths ... concerning the obligatory nature of the Zakāt" and "works" signifies "self-abasement, humility, and acceptance of obligations." Zakāt is undoubtedly one of the "good works" incumbent upon Moslem, but to achieve its main purpose of purifying oneself one has to realise its "inner rules" which guide one to the real way of performing it. Al-Ghazālī quotes the Prophet as saying, concerning the Zakāt, "God will not accept the gifts of a person who is always reminding others of the favours he has done for them." He also notes the Qur'anic declaration: "O ye who believe! render not vain your alms by taunt and injury" [2:265][1]

Turning to the rules that govern the receiving of Zakāt, we find that al-Ghazālī has set up some strict measures as regulations for the recipient to observe, such as abstaining from receiving what is unlawful or what is more than permissible amount for him.[2]

Voluntary almsgiving was dealt with by al-Ghazālī under three headings. These are: (1) its excellence, the rules of receiving it and giving it; (2) secrecy and publicity in giving it; and (3) which is better, to receive voluntary alms or Zakāt. The first of these topics is elaborated by means of a list of traditions and sayings of the Companions and Fathers. It is the second and third topics that take up the greater amount of al-Ghazālī's attention. Various opinions on the issues raised are considered. In the end al-Ghazālī calls upon the individual to exercise discretion on these issues. He must reflect "carefully lest he be misled by vanity and bequilded by the deception of nature and the artifice of the

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[1] 'Iḥyā', p. 395

[2] 'Iḥyā', pp. 405-406

devil."[1] Then, he is free to choose between secrecy and publicity, voluntary almsgiving and the Zakāt.

The next item of devotion is Fasting. "Those who observe it are of three grades; the common falk do not yield to their appetites; the elect hold all their members back from sins; the inner circle of the elect avoid all mean desires, all worldly thoughts, and all that is not God."[2] Thus al-Ghazālī divides the observers of the obligatory fasting of Ramaḍān into three ranks corresponding to stages in the unfolding of the secrets of the Fast. The rules for the first and second grades are set up in detail by al-Ghazālī. The three-fold division proceeds from the central contention that "Fasting in Islam does not simply imply abstaining from food, but also every kind of evil,"[3] How far al-Ghazālī differed from the Scholar-Jurists in his treatment of fasting is particularly clear from his remarks on the second grade of Fasting. The second grade observers of Fasting according to al-Ghazālī are Ṣāliḥīn or the Righteous Ones, meaning the Ṣūfis. Their Fasting consists, in addition to the common falk rules set up by the Scholar-Jurists, of six things: 1-restraining of eyes and holding them back from gazing at any blameworthy thing and everything that may distract one's heart from God; 2-keeping the tongue within bounds against foul talk, lying, backbiting, talebearing, ribaldory, harshness, disputing, arguing, and keeping it silent or else busy with the remembrance of God; 3- preventing the ears from listening to any reprehensible thing;

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[1] Iḥyā', p. 415, trans. Faris, p.83

[2] A.S. Tritton, Islam, p. 27. Cf. Ihya, p. 426.

[3] Aḥmad A. Ghalwash, The Religion of Islam, Vol. II, p.63

4-keeping the other members from sin, such as hands, legs, and stomach; 5-avoiding taking too much lawful food when breaking the Fast; 6-placing one's heart, after breaking the fast, in suspense between fear and hope, for one does not know whether one's fast is approved.[1]

Finally, we come to the Pilgrimage. If the Prayer is a personal communion with God, the Zakāt a thanksgiving to God, the Fasting a turning against human desires, the Pilgrimage is "the seal of all that is commanded, the perfection of Islam and the completion of religion."[2]

The Pilgrimage, like other devotional practices in Islam, contains some ceremonies "which involve fraternizing among people and whose meaning no intellect can find out, such as casting pebbles at stones and running to and fro repeatedly between Ṣafā and Marwā, for example."[3] Since al-Ghazālī himself has admitted that the meaning of such ceremonies are incomprehensible to human intellect, we cannot expect him to explain them, not withstanding his intended purpose of unfolding the secrets of Islamic devotional practices. Nevertheless, this is not to say that al-Ghazālī does not have a general view as to the place of these ceremonies in the spiritual life. We have previously noted the connection between the idea of sirr and that of heart purification and have cited passages to show this connection. We may now cite a further passage, one which concerns the Pilgrimage: "There is in each one of these things a remembrance for him who will remember, a lesson for every one to learn, an exhotation for every

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[1] 'Ihya', pp. 426-429.

[2] 'Ihya', p. 437

[3] 'Ihya', p. 483

true disciple, and instruction and direction for every intelligent [person]. Let us [now] indicate the keys to each of these things, so that once the door is opened to them and their causes are known, their secrets will be revealed to every pilgrim according to the clearness of his heart, the purity of his inner [self] and the abundance of his intelligence."[1] This passage indicates two important things: 1-al-Ghazālī is not revealing the secret meaning, but opening their doors and explaining their causes; 2- the real revealing of the secrets depends on the pilgrim himself. The role of al-Ghazālī is in the final analysis that of a mentor who can only give advice and enlightenment.

Al-Ghazālī's statement that the "secrets will be revealed to every pilgrim according to the clearness of his heart..." indicates that every pilgrim has his special key for that purpose, the key being the degree of clearness of his heart. The following anecdote indicates very clearly that the so-called meaningless ceremonies, such as circumambulation of the Ka'ba, the throwing of pebbles and the running between Ṣafā and Marwā could, for the spiritually mature, be rich in meaning:

> "a man who had just returned from the Pilgrimage came to Junayd. Junayd said, 'From the hour when you first journeyed from your home have you also been journeying away from all sins?' He said, 'No'. 'Then', said Junayd, 'You have made no journey. At every stage where you halted for the night did you traverse a station on the way to God?' 'No', he replied. 'Then', said Junayd, 'you have not trodden the road, stage by stage. When you put on the pilgrim's qarb at the proper place, did you discard the qualities of human nature as you cast off your clothes?' 'No'. 'Then you have not put on the pilgrim's qarb.

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[1] Ihya, p. 482

[2] The anecdote has been reported according to al-Zabīdī from al-Shibly, while R.A. Nicholson in 'The Mystics of Islam' has reported it from al-Junayd. Al-Zabīdī's version is considerably long, therefore I quote Nicholson's version. Al-Zabīdī's version was quoted from a book by Ibn 'Arabī, the Great Shayk.

When you stood at ʿArafat, did you stand one moment in contemplation of God?' 'No.' 'Then you have not stood at ʿArafāt. When you went to Muzdalifa and achieved your desire, did you renounce all sensual desires?' 'No.' 'Then you have not gone to Muzdalifa. When you circumambulated the Ka'ba, did you behold the immaterial beauty of God in the abode of purification?' 'No.' 'Then you have not circumambulated the Ka'ba. When you ran between Ṣafā and Marwā, did you attain to purity (Ṣafā) and virtue (muruwwat)?' 'No.' 'Then you have not run. When you came to Mina, did all your wishes (munā) cease?' 'No.' 'Then you have not yet visited Mina. When you reached the slaughter-place and offered sacrifice, did you sacrifice the objects of wordly desire?' 'No.' 'Then you have not sacrified. When you threw the pebbles, did you throw away whatever sensual thoughts were accompanying you?' 'No.' 'Then you have not yet thrown the pebbles, and you have not yet performed the Pilgrimage.'[1]

It is noteworthy that Ibn ʿArabī, who in al-Zabīdī's version is the narrator, says after relating the anecdote that the reason why he reported the anecdote is to show that all godfearing people understand Pilgrimage as such although they differ from each other.[2] It is such difference in understanding that Al-Ghazālī's phrase "to every pilgrim according to the clearness of his heart," seems to reference.

The apparently meaningless ceremonies in Islam are, says al-Ghazālī, "the most consumate of all the kinds of worship in cleaning souls and turning them away from the requirements of nature and ethics to the requirements of certitude."[3] Thus al-Ghazali assures the Muslim populace that full submission to the Law without craving for the revealing of its essence and inner reality is better for them. This, however, does not mean an appeal to follow the Law blindly, for we see how al-Ghazālī tries his best to rationalize it in the conviction that God the Most wise will not do anything without purpose.

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[1] R.A. Nicholson, The Mystic of Islam, p. 483.

[2] 'Ihyā.' p. 482 .

[3] 'Ihyā.' p. 483.

A modern scoffer has declared that he does not "know anything which can justify the act of giving the stupid and unmeaningful ceremonies of the Pilgrimage ... The Wahhābis, the puritans of Islam. regard the circumambulation of the Prophet's tomb as superstition ... but how can they justify the foolish ceremonies of the Ḥajj? If reverence for the Prophet's tomb is 'shirk', what are the running at aṣ-Ṣafā and al-Marwā, the stoning of the pillars, and the kissing of the Black Stone? ... No Muslim has ever yet attempted to give a spiritual explanation of the ceremonies of the Makkan Pilgrimage, for in attempting to do so he would be charged with heresy of 'shirk'."[1] The answer to these questions have partly been given. The full answer may be found by reference to al-Ghazālī's detailed analysis of Pilgrimage from its beginning to the end. This lies under twenty headings that comprises the various Pilgrimage rites. They are as follows: 1- understanding; 2 - longing; 3 - decision; 4 - severance of the relations; 5- provision; 6- riding beast; 7 - purchase of the two 'iḥrām garments; 8 - departure; 9 - entering the desert; 10 - the state of sanctification; 11 - entrance into Makka; 12 - first glimpse of the Ka'ba; 13 - circumambulation of the House; 14 - touching of the Black Stone; 15 - clinging to the curtains of the Ka'ba; 16 - running between Ṣafā and Marwā; 17 - standing on Mount 'Arafāt; 18 - throwing of pebbles; 19 - visit to Medina; and 20 - visit to the Apostle of God.[2]

In developing a "spiritual explanation" for these rites, al-

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[1] Dictionary of Islam, p. 159.

[2] These items covered the whole final subdivision of the Chapter on the Secrets of Pilgrimage, pp. 481-491.

Ghazālī provided a rational for the Pilgrimage that safeguarded it against the antinomianism of the extremist Ṣūfis, thus blending, law and the spiritual life. In like manner al Ghazālī's work stands even today as a rebuke against modern scoffers who would reduce Islamic worship to empty ritual. The intense spirituality of the entire Pilgrimage is evidenced by al-Ghazālī's final words at the end of the chapter on the secrets of Pilgrimage, "These are the duties of the heart throughout the acts of the Pilgrimage."[1]

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[1] 'Ihya', p. 491&

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing an attempt has been made to elucidate al-Ghazālī's role in harmonizing the law and the inner life. It was noted that in the *'Ihyā' fiqh* material takes precedence over other material in al-Ghazālī's order of treatment. This material includes relevant Qur'anic verses, sayings of the Prophet and statements of Companions, Successors and the Fathers. Juristic technical terms such as "obligatory," "supererogatory," "recommended," "reprehensible," and the like are freely used by al-Ghazālī. However, for al-Ghazālī these purely legal categories are not sufficient for true piety. Accordingly he introduces and develops the term *sirr* as the life-giving principle governing all religious acts.

Having considered at length al-Ghazālī's thinking on these subjects, the question now remains: what are the sources of his thought ? As D.B. Macdonald has pointed out, al-Ghazālī "was not a scholar who struck out a new path, but a man of intensive personality who entered on a path already trodden and made it the common highway."[1] We must therefore give due attention to the antecedents of al-Ghazālī's thinking.

As for the *fiqh* material in al-Ghazālī's writings, the main source is the Shāfiᶜī school of law. Al Ghazālī was not only a Shāfiᶜī; he was one of the greatest scholars of this school. Among his contributions to the school are his treatises al-*Wajīz* (the Brief"), al-*Wasīt* ("the Medium"), and al-*Basīt* ("the Wide"). He was also the author of a monumental work on the principles of jurisprudence entitled '*al-Mustasfā min ᶜilm al-'usūl.*' In general al-Ghazālī, despite his profundity as a thinker, adds little to

the field of fiqh per se. Al-Subkī tried, not altogether successfully , to defend al-Ghazālī in respect to this shortcoming.[2] Many examples can be given from the 'Iḥyā'[3] to show that al-Ghazālī prefers ~~to~~ Shāfiᶜī doctrine over others, refraining from using his own individual reasoning to reach an independent conclusion.

Similarly, in the realm of Ṣūfī ideas a-Ghazālī is but a follower of his predecessors, especially al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 857), 'Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 996), and 'Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (d. 1072). The influence of these great Ṣūfis is manifest from al-Ghazālī's frequent quotations from their writings, both directly and indirectly, as well as from his adoption of their styles. It has even been said that the 'Iḥyā' is actually based upon Qūt al-qulūb by 'Abū Ṭālib al Makkī.[4] A cursory comparison of the two seems to bear this out. The principal obvious difference between the two works is that whereas the 'Iḥyā' places fiqh material first in order of treatment the Qūt gives precedence to the Ṣūfī material.[5]

Al-Ghazālī himself testifies to the influence of his predecessors upon his thinking in noting that he started his study of Ṣūfism by reading the works of 'Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī, as well as some extracts from al-Junayd (d. 910), al-Shiblī (d. 946), and 'Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. 875).[6] Moreover, he declares that many people had written books on subjects dealt with in the 'Iḥyā'. His own book, he points out, is distinguished from the others by five things: (1) it elucidates what the others complicate; (2) it organizes what the others disperse; (3) it summarizes what the others prolong; (4) it avoids their repetitiousness; and (5) it examines a number of complex matters neglected by the others.[7]

Al-Ghazālī himself acknowledges few quotations from the works of his predecessors. It is al-Zabīdī who is to be credited with having traced much of the quoted material to its proper sources. Of the quotations acknowledged by al-Ghazālī, two are particularly noteworthy. The first occurs on page 573 of the 'Iḥyā', where al-Ghazālī mentions 'Abu Ṭālib, ibn Khuzaymā and 'Ibn Mundhir as his sources for a series of Prophetic supplications which extend from page 573 to page 590. The other quotation is from al-Muḥāsibī. It extends from page 1810 to page 1822 and is the longest quotation in the entire 'Iḥyā'.

As for al-Qushayrī, his famous Risāla, which was, like the 'Iḥyā' itself, written with a view to bringing about a reconciliation between sharīᶜa and ḥaqīqa, had without doubt a considerable influence upon al-Ghazālī. Al-Qushayrī filled his Risāla with Qur'anic verses, Prophetic traditions, savings of the Fathers, as well as with material relating to the great Ṣūfis, in order to convince his contemporaries of the truth of the Ṣūfī way. This was also, as we have noted, al-Ghazālī's approach, and accordingly many scholars consider al-Ghazālī to have been a successor to al-Qushayrī.[8] The following extract from the Risāla will, I am sure, bear this out:

> The Sharīʿa is concerned with observance of the outward manifestation of religion; whilst Ḥaqīqa concerns inward vision of divine power. Every rite not informed by the spirit of Reality (i.e. Ḥaqīqā) is valueless, and every spirit of Reality not restrained by the Law (i.e. Sharia) is incomplete. The Law exists to regulate mankind, whilst the Reality makes us to know the dispositions of God. The Law exists for the service of God, whilst the Reality exists for the contemplation of Him. The Law exists for obeying what He had ordained, whilst the Reality concerns witnessing and understanding the order He has decreed: the one is outer, the other inner.9

So much for the sources of al-Ghazālī. A final word should

be added concerning the reactions to al-Ghazālī's teaching. Being very strict in his deprecation of worldly scholars, al-Ghazālī engendered around him a group of enemies who "criticized him for entertaining emotional notions basic to Ṣūfism but incompatible with rationalism and philosophically difficult to explain. Others condemned his religious teachings as detrimental to orthodoxy."[10] "His inexactitude in quoting Traditions and his use of uncanonical Traditions" have been the ground of bitter criticism by his professional enemies.[11] Yet, in spite of such criticism -- which, in the Maghreb, culminated in the banning and even burning of his books -- his influence through the centuries has been pervasive.[12]

Whatever the case may be, posterity has bestowed upon al-Ghazālī the highly honorific title of Ḥujjat al-Islām ("Supreme Authority on Islam"); and, as though this were not sufficient, some have called him the greatest Muslim after Muḥammad.

Footnotes to Conclusion:

[1] D. B. Macdonald, as quoted in R.A. Nicholson, A Literary History of the Arabs, p. 383.

[2] Al-Subki, Tabaqat al-Shafiʿiya, Vol. IV, pp. 101-182.

[3] Ihya', pp. 315, 370, 627, 766, 826, 827, 828, 834, 2125, 2223.

[4] Al-Zabidi, Vol. I, p. 134.

[5] Al-Ghazali actually states (Ihya' p. 5) that the arrangement he has followed is a kind of trick to attract people thinking the book to be a fiqh book.

[6] Al-Munqidh, p. 68.

[7] Ihya', p. 4.

[8] Albert Nadir, "al-Tasawwuf al-Islami," p. 49; Ahmad Mahmud Subhi, "Fi ʿilm al-kalam," p. 237; J.S. Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, p. 142.

[9] J.S. Trimingham, p. 142.

[10] P.K. Hitti, "Makers of Arab History," p. 162.

[11] Montgomery, p. 23.

[12] For the full account of al-Ghazali's influence, see Watt, Muslim Intellectual, pp. 171-180; Hitti, Makers of Arab History, pp. 160-164; C.C. Adams, Islam and Modernism in Egypt, pp. 202-204; F. Rahman, Islam, pp. 140-141.

THE BOOK ON THE SECRETS OF PILGRIMAGE

In the name of God, the Benificent, the Merciful. Praise be to God Who has made the confession of [Divine] Unity a fortress and a bulwark for His servants; and has made the Ancient House [Ka'bā] a resort for mankind and a place of safety; and has dignified it in relation to Himself, honouring it, fortifying it, and bestowing his favour upon it. And He has made the visiting of it and the circumambulation around it a [protective] veil between the worshipper and the Torment, and [has made it] a shield. The Blessing [of God] be upon Muḥammad the Apostle of mercy and the Master of the Community -- may he be granted abundant peace as well as his close relatives and companions.

Now then, the Pilgrimage is one of the Pillars and Foundations of Islam, the act of worship of a lifetime, the seal of all that is commanded, the perfection of Islam and the completion of religion. Concerning it God the Most High has revealed his statement "This day have I perfected your religion for you and completed My favour upon you and have chosen for you Islam as religion" (5 : 4). And concerning it the Prophet -- the blessing of God be upon him -- said, "Whoever dies without having performed the Pilgrimage let him die, if he wish, either a Jew or a Christian." How exalted is that act of worship without which religion is lacking in perfection, and the evader of which is equal in waywardness to Jews and Christians! [Such a worship] deserves that much attention be devoted to explaining it and to detailing

its essential elements (ʾarkān), its supererogatory parts (Sunan), its proprieties, its merits, and its mysteries. All of this will be disclosed, by the grace of God the Most High, in three chapters:

1. The first chapter concerns its merits and the merits of Mecca and the Ancient House and its essential parts and the criteria [that determine] its obligatory character (Wujūb).
2. The second chapter [deals with] its outward acts in [correct] order according to their order from the beginning of the journey untill the return.
3. The third chapter concerns its exact proprieties, its hidden mysteries and its inner (bāṭinā) acts.

Let us now begin with the first chapter. It has two parts. Part one is on the merits of the Pilgrimage and on the [particular] merit of the House and of Mecca and Medinā -- may God the Most High protect both -- and on [the merit of] setting out on a journey to the mosques [of Mecca, Medina and Jeruselim].

The Merit of Pilgrimage

Allah said [to ʾAbraham], "And proclaim unto mankind the Pilgrimage. They will come to thee on foot, and on every lean camel, coming by every distant tract" (22 : 27). Qatādā said, "When God the Most High commanded ʾAbraham -- the Peace and Blessing of God be upon him and upon our Prophet and upon every chosen servant of God -- to proclaim unto mankind the Pilgrimage, he proclaimed, "O People, God the Most High has built a House; go to it on Pilgrimage." God the Most High said. "That they may

witness [its] benefits for them" [22 : 28]. It was [once] said, "The business is during the season [of Pilgrimage], and the reward is in the hereafter." One of the early fathers [Salaf] commented when he heard this: "By the Lord of the Ka'bā, surely they be forgiven." It has been said by way of interpretation of the saying of God the Most High, "Now, since Thou hast adjudged me as lost, I will assuredly lie in wait for them on Thy straight path" [7 : 18] that [this saying refers to] the path to Mecca [and that it is] Satan who lies in wait so as to bar people from it. [The Prophet]-- the Blessing of God upon him -- said, "Whoever performs Pilgrimage to the House without foul talk or iniquity is free from sin [literally: departs from his sins] as [he was] on the day his mother bore him." And the Prophet -- the Blessing Of God be upon him -- also said, "Satan has never been seen as to be more mean, or humiliated, or miserable or vexed that on the day of 'Arafat." That is solely because of what he sees of the revelation of the mercy and forbearance of God -- may He be praised -- toward grave sins. Thus it is said, "There are some sins which are expiated only by the standing on Mount 'Arafat." Ja'far Ibn Muḥammad has attributed this saying to the Apostle of God -- upon whom be the blessing of God.

One of those pious persons (muqarrabīn) who have insight [into the unseen] related that 'Iblīs -- God curse him -- appeared to him once at Mount 'Arafāt in the shape of a person. As his body was frail, his colour pallid, his eyes tearful, and his back broken, [the pious man] said to him, "What has made your eyes tearful?" He answered, "The going forth of pilgrims without [any intention of doing] business -- I say, they are intent [on Pilgrimage alone]; I fear they will not be disap-

pointed, and that makes me sad." "What has made your body frail?" the [pious man] asked. He said, "The neighing of horses for the sake of God the Most High. Had it been for my sake, that would have been more to my liking." The [pious man] said, "What has changed your colour?" He said, Co-operation of people in obedience [to God]; had they cooperated in disobedience, that would have been more to my liking." "What has caused your back to be broken?" the [pious man] asked. He answered, "the saying of a worshipper, [O God]."I ask of You a good end.'I say, Woe to me! When that man becomes pleased with his [good] deeds, I fear that he might become aware [of his own conceit]."

The Prophet -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- said, "Whoever sets out on the Greater or Lesser Pilgrimage and dies [before completing the Pilgrimage], will until the Day of Resurrection be awarded with the award of a pilgrim. And whoever dies in one of the two shrines will not be exposed [to judgment] or made to give an account. To him it will be said, "Enter into Paradise," And the Prophet -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- said, "One Pilgrimage which is accepted [in the sight of God]is better than the whole world and what is in it; a Pilgrimage which is accepted [in God's sight] has no reward but Paradise."

And he -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- [also] said, "those who go on the Greater or Lesser Pilgrimage are a delegation of God Almighty and His visitors. If they ask [something]of Him, He grants [it] to them; if they beg His forgiveness, He forgives them; if they voice their supplication, it is granted to them; and if they intercede [on behalf of anyone], their intercession is granted." A saying [of the Prophet]

transmitted by [members of the Prophet's] household [declares]: "The most sinful man is the one who, though standing on 'Arafat, thought that God has not forgiven him."

Ibn 'Abbās, may God be pleased with them [the son and the father], reported that the Prophet -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- said, "Everyday one hundred and twenty mercies descend on this House [i.e. the Ka'bā]; of these, sixty are for those who circumambulate [it], fourty for those who [merely] pray [before it], and twenty for those who [merely] gaze [at it]." In [another] tradition [we find the following]: "Circumambulate the House often for it is among the most important things that you will find on your record [lit. sheets] on the Day of Resurrection, and [it is, moreover,] the most delightful deed you will find." For this reason, it is commendable first to do the circumambulation [independently] without [doing] the Greater or Lesser Pilgrimage. In [still another] tradition [we read]: "Whoever circumambulates [the House] seven times, barefooted and bareheaded, is rewarded as though he had freed a slave, and whoever circumambulates [the House] seven times amid rain is forgiven of sins previously committed." It is said that whenever God the Most High pardons His servant for a sin during the time [of 'Arafāt], He [also] during that time pardons for that [same] sin all those who have committed it.

One of the Fathers (Salaf) said, "If the day of 'Arafāt coincides with Friday, all the people [who have stood] at 'Arafāt are pardoned [of their sins]. Such [a day] is the most excellent of days in this [earthly] life; it was on such [a day] that the Prophet -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- performed his farewell pilgrimage, and he was standing [at 'Arafāt] when the [following] words of God Almighty were revealed

[to Him]: "This day have I perfected your religion for you and completed My favour upon you and have chosen for you Islam as religion."[5 : 4] The people of the Book said, "Had this verse been revealed to us, we would have made it a feast day." ʿUmar, may God be pleased with him, said, "I testify that it was revealed to the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- on a day of two feasts: the Day of ʿArafāt and the Day of Gathering [i.e. Friday], when he was standing at ʿArafāt." The Prophet -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- said, "O God, forgive the pilgrim and the man for whom the pilgrim asks forgiveness."

It is reported that ʿAli Ibn Muwaffaq performed several pilgrimages on behalf of the Prophet -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him. He said, "I saw the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- in the dream and said to me, "O Ibn Muwaffaq, have you performed pilgrimages on my behalf ?" 'Yes' I said. He said, 'And did you say L A B B A Y K A on my behalf?' I replied, 'Yes.' He said, 'I will reward you on the Day of Resurrection when I will take you by the hand in the "stopping-place" and let you enter the Paradise while all the people are in agony of the Judgment." Mujāhid and some other scholars said, "When pilgrims reach Mecca they are met by angels who greet those who ride camels, shake hands with those who ride donkeys, and embrace those who come on foot."

Al-Ḥassan said, "Whoever dies immediately after Ramaḍān, or after a war, or after the Pilgrimage dies as a martyr." And ʿUmar, may God be pleased with him, said, "The pilgrim is forgiven his sins as well as he for whom he has sought forgiveness during the months of Dhū al - Ḥijjā, al-Muharram. Ṣafar and twenty days of Rabīʾ all ʿAwwal."

It was the custom of the Fathers -- may God be pleased with them -- in bidding farewll to warriors, and in receiving pilgrims, to kiss [them] between the eyes and to ask for their prayers, and they hastened to do this [in the case of pilgrims] lest they become polluted with sins.

ʿAli Ibn Muwaffaq is reported to have said, "I performed the Pilgrimage one year, and when it was the night of ʿArafāt I slept in the Mosque of al-Khaif at Minā. I saw in dream as though two angels clothed in green came down from the sky. Then one of them called to the other, 'O slave of God', and he [the other] replied, 'Here am I. [Labbayka], O slave of God'. The former continued, 'Do you know how many performed pilgrimage to the house of our Lord the Most High this year?' 'I do not know', he answered. 'Six hundred thousand have performed the pilgrimage to the House of our Lord', the other said, but do you know how many of them were accepted?' He said, 'No.' 'Six persons?, the other concluded. Then they ascended into the air and disappeared from me, and I woke up in fright. I was very much distressed and my condition greatly disturbed. Then, I said [to myself], 'If the pilgrimage of [only] six persons has been accepted where am I among the six?' Then, after I had left ʿArafāt I stayed for a while at Mashʿar al-Ḥarām, and I began to meditate upon the multitude of people [who attended that year's pilgrimage as compared to] the small number whom were accepted. I fell asleep, and all of a sudden there were [before me] the two figures having descended [again] in their [same] form. And one of them called the other repeating the same words [as before]. Then he said, 'Do you know what decision has our Lord made this night?' 'No', the other said. He said,

'He has given everyone of the six a hundred thousand.' Then, I woke up with such rejoicing as cannot be described."

[ʿAli Ibn Muwaffaq] -- may God be pleased with him -- is also reported to have said, "I performed a pilgrimage one year; when I completed the rites I began thinking about those whose pilgrimage was not accepted, and said, 'O God, I donate my pilgrimage and its reward to the one whose pilgrimage was not accepted.' Then I saw the Lord of glory in my sleep, and He said to me, 'O ʿAli, are you [pretending to be] more liberal than [I] when I am the Creator of liberality and generosity, and am the most liberal of the liberal and the most generous of the generous, and the more deserving of generosity and liberality than the all created beings. I donate all those whose pilgrimage I did not accept to those [whose pilgrimage] I did acept!"

THE EXCELLENCE OF THE HOUSE AND OF EXALTED MECCA

[The Prophet] -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- said, "God most High has promised this House that six hundred thousand [persons] will make a pilgrimage to it every year; and if [the pilgrims] are short [of that number] God most High will complete [their number] with the angels. And [he has promised] that the Kaʿbā will be crowded about, like a bride in procession, while all the pilgrims cling to Its curtains and run about It until It enters Paradise and they along with it." And in [another] tradition: "The Black Stone is one of the jewels of Paradise; it will be raised on the Day of Resurrection with eyes and with a tongue with which to speak, bearing witness on behalf of all those who

have kissed it in truth and sincerity." and "[the Prophet]-- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- used to kiss it frequently." And it is reported that "He -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- prostrated himself before it" and used to circumambulate [it riding] on a camel, and would touch it with a stick and then kiss the end of the stick." "'Umar -- may God be pleased with him -- [once] kissed it and then said, I know you are [just] a stone in which there is neither harm nor benefit. If I had not seen the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- kiss you I would never have kissed you.' Then he wept until his sobbing raised, and he turned around and saw 'Ali [Ibn Abū Ṭālib] -- may God honour his countenance and be pleased with him -- and said, 'O 'Abū al-Ḥassan, here is the place where tears should be shed and supplications granted.' 'Ali said, 'O Commander of the Faithful, there is indeed both harm and benefit [in the Black stone]. 'He said, 'How?' [Ali] said, 'When God made a covenant with progeny [of 'Ādam], He recorded [it] for them in a book, then stuffed it into this rock so that it might stand as witness to the fulfillment [of the covenant] by the believer and the repudiation [of it] by the unbeliever.'" It is said that this is the meaning of those words spoken by people upon kissing [the Black Stone]: "O God, for the faith in You, the belief in Your Book and the fulfillment of Your covenant" [I perform this duty].

It is elated on the authority of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣarī -- may God be pleased with him -- that one day of fasting in it [i.e. Mecca] is equal to a hundred thousand days of fasting [in other places], and one dirham given as alms [in Mecca] is equal to a hundred thousand dirhams [given elsewhere]; the same is true of every [other] good deed. And it is said

that seven circumambulations /around the Ka'bā/ is equal to one Lesser Pilgrimage, and that three Lesser Pilgrimages are equal to one Greater Pilgrimage. Thus in a sound tradition /we read/ : " One Lesser Pilgrimage in /the month of/ Ramaḍān is equal to the Greater Pilgrimage along with me." And /the Prophet/ -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him-- said, "I am the first over whom the earth will be split, then I come to the people of Baqī' so that they will be assembled along with me /on the Day of Resurrection/, then I come to the people of Mecca to be resurrected between the two Sanctuaries (ḥaramayn)." And in /another/ tradition /he declares/: "Verily, 'Ādam -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- was once met by angels after performing his rites, and they said to him, 'Your pilgrimage is accepted, O 'Ādam. Verily we made the Pilgrimage to this house two thousand years before you." Moreover, the following is found in the tradition: "Verily God Most High looks upon the people of the earth each night. The first of those upon whom He looks are the people of the Sanctuary (ḥaram), and the first of the people of the Sanctuary upon whom He looks are the people in the Sacred Mosque (al-Masjid al-Ḥarām). Those whom He sees performing the circumambulation He forgives; those whom He sees praying He forgives; and those whom He sees standing with their faces toward the Ka'bā He forgives. "One of the Friends /of God/-- may God be pleased with them -- to whom the mysteries had been revealed said, "I saw all the harbours prostrate themselves before 'Abādān, and I saw 'Abādān prostrate itself before Jadda." And it is said that the sun will not set on any day until one of the 'Abdāl has performed the circumambulation and that the dawn will not break forth after any night until one of the 'Awtād has performed it; if this /daily routine/ were to come to a stop, it would

cause [the Ka'bā] to be removed from the earth, so that people would awaken [to find that] the Ka'bā had vanished and would find not a trace of it. The same [would also happen] if seven years were to pass without anyone having performed the Pilgrimage, moreover the Qur'an would be removed from its pages [masāhif], and people would arise and, so, the paper would be white and glittering without a single letter on it; then the Qur'ān would be erased from hearts and not a word of it would be remembered; and the people would return to the poetry, songs, and tales of the pre-Islamic period; ~~then~~ then Anti-Christ would go forth and Jesus -- upon whom be Peace -- would descend to kill him. The hour when all this occurs would be like the pregnant woman in travail, waiting for the moment of her delivery. [It is said] in the tradition: "Circumambulate this House frequently before it is removed, for it has been destroyed on two occasions and on the third occasion will be removed." And it is related on the authority of 'Ali -- may God be pleased with him -- that the Prophet -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- said, "God Most High said, 'If I intend to destroy the world I would begin with My House: [first] I would destroy It, and then I would destroy the world after It."

THE EXCELLENCE OF RESIDING AT MECCA THE EXALTED - MAY GOD WATCH OVER IT - AND OF BEING LOATHE TO RESIDE

The more cautious and circumspect of scholars consider residing at Mecca to be reprehensible for three reasons:

1. First, it is feared that one will become bored with and

[unduly] accustomed to the House, with the result that the burning reverence of the Heart [for it] would be tempered. Thus 'Umar -- may God be pleased with him -- used to strike pilgrims who had completed the Pilgrimage, saying, 'O people of al-Yaman, to al-Yaman with you! O people of Syria, to Syria with you! O people of 'Irāq, to 'Irāq with you!" For this reason also 'Umar -- may God be pleased with him -- forbade excessive circumambulation, saying, "I fear that people will take thi House for granted."

2. Secondly, separation [from Mecca] arouses longing, inciting the mortive to return; for God has made the House a resort for mankind and a place of security -- that is to say, they may be -- take themselves to it from time to time, but without gaining their end. One [of the learned men] said, "It is better to be in a [far] country with your heart longing for Mecca and fixed upon this House than to be in [Mecca] and [find] yourself tired of remaining there and your heart in another country." One of the Fathers (Salaf) said, "Many of man in Khurāsān is nearer to this House than he who circumambulates it." It is said that God has some worshippers around whom the Ka'bā circumambulates in order to draw near to God Most High.

3. Thirdly, it is feared that one might commit errors and sins while there. This is indeed a grave end and, in view of the dignity of the place, is fit to bring on the wrath of God. Wuhayb Ibn a-Ward al-Makkī is reported to have said, "It

happened one night when I was praying in al-Ḥijr that I heard a voice from between the Ka'ba and the curtain saying, To God and to you, O Gabriel, I complain of that which I suffer from those who circumambulate around me, [namely] their engrossment in talk, their babble, and their sport. If they do not desist I will quake till every stone of mine return to the mountain from which it was hewn."

Ibn Mas'ūd -- may God be pleased with him -- said that there was not a town in which one was castigated for the [mere] intention [to do wrong] prior to the actual committing [of wrong] -- except Mecca, and he recited the words of [God] Almighty; "And who seeks wrongfully to deviate therein [from the right path] we shall cause him to taste of a grievious punishment" (22:26). [Furthermore] it is said that bad deeds are [in Mecca] just as good deeds are doubled. Ibn 'Abbās -- may God be pleased with him -- used to say, "In Mecca [mere] hoarding is, within the Sanctuary, an act of apostacy." The same is also said of lying. Ibn 'Abbās also said, "To commit seventy offences at Rukba is to me preferable to committing a single offence in Mecca." Rukba is a rest-stop between Mecca and Ṭā'if. Out of fear of this [consideration], some residents [of Mecca] have gone so far as to refrain from relieving themselves within the Sanctuary, and instead to retire to al-Ḥill to take care of their needs. One of them remained a month without laying down his rib on the ground. In order to bar people from remaining [in Mecca], some scholars have deemed the renting of Meccan houses reprehensible.

Do not suppose that the reprehensibility of ramaining [in Mecca] contradicts the excellence of the place, the cause of this reprehensibitly

is the weakness of the creatures and their inability to give the place its full due. Our statement "it is better to avoid remaining [in Mecca] means that [such is better] in relation to remaining [in Mecca] in [a condition of] negligence and boredom. As for [the notion that] it is better than remaining [in Mecca] while giving [the place] its full due, this is far from the truth. How could it be otherwise, considering that the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- upon returning to Mecca faced the Kaʿbā and said, "Thou art the best [part] of the earth of God Most High and art to me the most beloved of God Almighty's Lands. Had I not been driven from thee, I would not have left thee." How indeed would the matter be otherwise, when [merely] to gaze at the House is worship, and good deeds [performed] in it are counted as double, as we have already noted.

THE EXCELLENCE OF MEDINA THE NOBLE OVER OTHER LANDS

No other place after Mecca is more excellent than Medina, [the city] of the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him. All deeds are counted as double there as well. [The Apostle of God] -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- said, "A prayer performed in this mosque of mine is more meritorious than a thousand prayers in any other mosque save the Sacred Mosque (al-Masjid al-Ḥarām)." Likewise, every good deed in Medina is equal to a thousand [elsewhere]; then after the city [of the Apostle] comes the Holy Land where every prayer is equal to five hundred prayers [performed] in other places save the Sacred Mosque; and this is the case with all other deeds. Ibn ʿAbbās has reported that the Prophet -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- said, "A

prayer performed in The Mosque of Madina amounts to ten thousand prayers, and a prayer performed in the al-ʾAqsā Mosque amounts to one thousand prayers, and a prayer performed in the Sacred Mosque (al-Masjid al-Ḥarām) amounts to one hundred thousand prayers." He [also] said -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- "To him who endures patiently its [i.e. Medina's] hardship and severity, I will be an intercessor on the Day of Resurrection." [Still again] he said -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- "He who is able to die in Medina let him do so for no one dies in it for whom I will not be an intercessor on the Day of Resurrection." All places after these three are equal save the frontiers where abiding for the sake of defence has a great merit. Consequently, he said -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- "Do not set off on a journey unless to the three mosques: the Sacred Mosque, My Mosque, and the al-ʿAqsā Mosque."

Some of the learned men have maintained that this tradition proves that traveling to visit the shrines of martyrs and tombs of learned and pious men is prohibited. However, the matter does not appear such to me, rather, visiting [tombs] is commanded, for he said -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- "I forbade [at first] to visit tombs. Now, [go and] visit them, but do not engage in obscene talk." Thus the tradition [in question] applies only to mosques; shrines are not included in its meaning. All mosques, with exception of the Three, are equal, and since every town has a mosque in it there is no sense in going to another mosque. But shrines are not equal, and the "barakā" obtained through there visiting is in accordance with their degree in the sight of God Most High. Of course, if one were in a place where there was no mosque, one would be allowed

to set off for another place where a mosque was located, and to make a complete move to it if he wished.

Then, would that I knew whether this speaker prohibits people from understanding journeys to the tombs of the prophets -- Peace be upon them -- such as Ibrāhim, Moses, John, and others -- Peace be upon them? That he should have prohibited this is highly unlikely, and if it is allowed, then the tombs of the friends [of God] and of learned and pious men must be included. It is not impossible that this [i.e. the visitation of such tombs] is among the purposes of the journey [mentioned in the tradition under discussion] just as the visitation of living men of learning is among [its] purposes. So much for the journey.

As regards the residing, however, it is preferable for a disciple to remain in his place if his purpose for journey is not to acquire knowledge as long as his condition in his place is sound. If it is not sound, then he must seek a place in which inactivity is more feasible, religion is more safe, the heart more free, and worship more convenient. Such a place is best for [the disciple]. [Thus the Prophet] -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- said, "All countries belong to God Most High and [all] creatures are His slaves; therefore wherever you find kindness live there and thank God Most High." In the tradition [we read], "Whoever was blessed in anything, let him keep on it; and whose subsistence was destined to be in a certain thing, let him not abondon it unless when it changes [to worse]."

Abu Nuʿaym said, "I saw Sufiyān al-Thawrī put his bag on his shoulder and take his shoes in his hands. I said to him, 'Where [are you going] O Abū ʿAbdallāh? He said, "To a town where I may fill my bag with

money." Or, as another version has it, 'It was reported to me that there was a town where things are cheap, so that I can reside there. I said, 'Will you do that O Abū 'Abdallāh?' 'Yes', he said, 'Whenever you hear that things are cheap in a town, go to it because it is more secure for your religion and less [fright with] worry for you." And he was saying, "This is a time of evil, in which even the obscures are not safe let alone the distinguished. This is a time of travelling. Such that a man travels from town to town seeking escape through religion from temptations."

It is further reported that [Sufyān al-Thawrī] have said, "By God, I do not know which country I may settle in." Someone said to him, "Khurāsān". He said, "Conflicting doctrines and fallacious opinions [are there]. Then, someone said, "[How about] Syria?" He answered, [There] people point at you with their fingers." Then, someone said, "[How about] 'Iraq?" He said "[It is] a country of tyrants." "How about Mecca", one suggested? He said, "Mecca melts both bag and body." Then a stranger said to him, "I have resolved to become a resident (mujāwir) in Mecca. Therefore [please] advise me." He said, "I advise you with three things: do not pray in the first row, do not befriend any Qurashite, and do not be ostentations in alms-giving." [Sufyān al-Thawrī] disliked the first row because it makes one famous, so that whenever one is absent one is missed; and one thereby mixes one's act with ostentation and hypocrisy.

PART TWO ON THE CRITERIA

[that determine] whether an individual is under obligation to perform the Pilgrimage and whether the essentials [of the Pilgrimage] and those things which have been enjoined and those things which have been prohibited [with respect to it] have been validly observed.

There are two criteria [that determine] the validity of Pilgrimage: [(1) One must perform it at the proper] time and [(2) one must be a] Muslim. The Pilgrimage of a youth is valid: if he has reached the age of discretion, he may himself enter into the state of sanctification (iḥrām). If he is a minor, his guardian must enter into the state of sanctification on his behalf and do for him everything done in the Pilgrimage, such as the circumambulation, the saʿy and the like. As for the [proper] time, it is [during] the months of Shawwāl and Dhū al-Qaʿdā and [from] the nine of Dhū al-Ḥijjā to the dawn of the Day of Sacrifice (yawm al-naḥr). Whoever enters into the state of sanctification for the Pilgrimage in any time other than this, [performs] the Lesser Pilgrimage. The entire year is a [suitable] time for the Lesser Pilgrimage, but who concentrates on the rites [performed] during the days of Minā should not enter into the state of sanctification for the Lesser Pilgrimage, because he will not be able to undertake [it] immediately after [those rites are performed] since he will be busy with the duties of Minā.

The criteria [that determine] whether a [truly] required Pilgrimage has occured are five: (1) one must be Muslim, (2) free, (3) mature, (4) of sound mind, and (5) [one must perform the Pilgrimage in] the [proper]

time. If a youth or a slave enters into the state of sanctification, but the slave set free and the youth reaches maturity while at Mount 'Arafat or at Muzdalifā and returns to 'Arafāt before dawn, that will do for them as required Pilgrimage, because the /standing/ on 'Arafāt is the Pilgrimage, and no blood offering is required of them but a sheep. These criteria, with the exception to the time, also apply to occurence of the Lesser Pilgrimage as an Islamic duty.

The criteria /which determine/ the occurence of the Pilgrimage as a supererogatory act on the part of a free adult /person/ : /the supererogatory Pilgrimage must be performed/ after such a one has discharged his responsibility with respect to the /regular/ Islamic Pilgrimage, for the required Pilgrimage comes first. Then /comes/ the compensatory /of the Pilgrimage/ by the one who has vitiated it /i.e. the original Pilgrimage/ while in the state of standing /on Mount Arafāt/. After that /comes/ the vow, then the Pilgrimage done on behalf of someone else (niyābā) then the supererogatory act. This order is required, and, accordingly /if it is kept the supererogatory Pilgrimage/ occurs even when /the pilgrim/ proclaims his intention to be the opposite.

Conditions that determine whether the Pilgrimage is obligatory are five: /one must be/ (1) of age, (2) a Muslim, (3) of sound mind, (4) free, and (5) able. On whomsoever the Greater Pilgrimage becomes obligatory, the Lesser Pilgrimage /also/ becomes obligatory. Whoever intends to enter Mecca on a visit or on business, and is not a woodcutter, upon him sanctification (iḥrām) is incumbent according to one view; then he becomes lawful (ḥalāl) by performing either Pilgrimage or Lesser Pilgrimage.

Ability is of two kinds. The first is "immediate" /i.e.physical/

ability. It is determined by several factors ('asbāb) having to do either with [the pilgrim] himself, i.e. his health; or with the road, i.e. whether it passes through fertile lands and is safe and free of perilous waters and overpowering enemies; or with money, i.e. whether he has provisions [for the journey] from and back to his homeland since living away from one's home is difficult whether one has a family or not; whether he has provisions for those who require provisions of him during this period; whether he owns what is required to settle his debts; and whether he can afford a riding camel [by way of buying it] or by hiring. [Has the riding camel] a litter (maḥmal), a sack (Zāmilā) [or not it does not make difference] if he can hold fast on the sack.

The second kind [of the ability] is the ability of a permanently disabled person (Ma'ḍūb) through his wealth. He can hire someone to perform a Pilgrimage on behalf of him provided that the hired person had already done his own required Pilgrimage. In this case it is sufficient to make provision for travelling with a Zāmilā. If a son offers himself to his permanently disabled father, the father becomes thereby able; but if [the son] offers his money [to the father] the father cannot be considered able, for in physical service [on behalf of the father] there is honour for the son, but in the spending of money there is [only] benevolence toward the father. Whoever is able is under obligation to perform the Pilgrimage. He may delay it although in so doing he takes a risk. If it becomes convenient for him [to perform Pilgrimage] even in the later part of his life, this suffices, but if he dies before [performing] the Pilgrimage, he meets God Most High as one who has disobeyed [God] by omitting the Pilgrimage, and the Pilgrimage is included in his legacy and performed on his behalf [by someone else],

even if he did not mention this in his will, the same is true of his other debts. If he was able [to perfom Pilgrimage] in one year but failed to set out with the people and his possessions were destroyed in that same year and before the [time of the next] Pilgrimage of the people, and he himself died, he would meet God Most High without being held responsible for the Pilgrimage.

Whoever dies without performing the Pilgrimage while he is well off, his case will be very serious in the sight of God Most High. ʾUmar -- may God be pleased with him -- said, "Verily, I intended to write to the provinces imposing a levy on those who were able to find a way to perform the Pilgrimage but did not." Saʿīd Ibn Jubayr, Ibrāhim al-Nakhaʿī, Mujāhid, and Ṭāwūs are all reported to have said, "Had I known a wealthy person on whom the Pilgrimage was obligatory, then died without having performed the Pilgrimage, I would have not prayed for him." One [of the early Muslims] had a wealthy neighbour who died without performing the Pilgrimage, and [he] did not pray for him. Ibn ʿAbbās used to say, "Whoever dies without paying zakāt nor performing Pilgrimage will ask to be sent back to this world," then he read this verse, "My Lord, send me back that I may do righteous deeds, in the life that have left behind" (23 : 99-100) [and concluded by saying] , "[This refers to] the Pilgrimage.

The essential elements without which no Pilgrimage is valid are five: (1) ʾiḥrām [the entering into sanctification], (2) Ṭawāf [the circumambulation of the Kaʿbā] followed by (3) Saʿy [running between the two eminence called Ṣafā and Marwā], (4) standing at [Mount] ʿArafāt, which according to one view must be followed by (5) head shaving. The essential elements of the Lesser Pilgrimage are the same, with the ex-

ception of the standing at [Mount 'Arafāt].

The duties [the omission of which] may be rectified by blood [sacrifice] are six: (1) Sanctification from the Mīqāt,[1] Whoever neglects it and goes beyond the mīqāt in his ordinary condition (muḥillan) must slaughter a sheep. (2) The throwing (of the pebbles, i.e. al-Ramy, the omission of which can be restitutes by) blood [sacrifice] according to a unanimous opinion [of learned men]. As for (3) patient waiting at [Mount] 'Arafāt until sunset, (4) spending the night at al-Muzdalifā and (5) at Minā, and (6) the farewell circumambulation, the omission of any of these is, according to one opinion, rectified by a blood [offering]. According to another opinion [however] the blood offering is in their case commendable [but not required].

As for the requirements [pertaining] to the performance of the Greater and Lesser Pilgrimage [together], there are three:

1. The first is 'ifrād, which is the most meritorious; it means to begin by [performing] the Pilgrimage by itself, then, after completion, to go to al-Ḥill and there to enter into the state of sanctification and perform the Lesser Pilgrimage. The best place in al-Ḥill to enter into sanctification for the Lesser Pilgrimage is al-Jiʿrān; next [in merit] is al-Tanʿīm, then al-Ḥudaybiyā. No blood sacrifice is required of the one who chooses 'ifrād, although he may [make a sacrifice] voluntarily.
2. The second is qirān, which means that [a pilgrim] combines [the rites of sanctification for the Greater and Lesser Pilgrimage]

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[1] The plural is mawāqīt which means the special stations outside Mecca at which pilgrims assemble before entering the ḥaram.

and thus says, "Here I come, O Lord, for both Greater Pilgrimage and Lesser Pilgrimage" thereby sanctifying himself for both. The rites of the Greater Pilgrimage are sufficient for him, since the Lesser Pilgrimage is included in it (i.e. the Greater Pilgrimage) just as the minor ablution is included in the major ablution. However, if he circumambulates and performs the saʿy before standing on [Mount] ʿArafāt, the saʿy counts for the both rites, whereas the circumambulation does not count because the condition of the obligatory circumambulation in the Greater Pilgrimage is to do it after standing on ʿArafāt. Blood sacrificing of sheep is required of the one who chooses qirān unless he is a native of Mecca, in which case nothing will be required of him because he has not left his mīqāt which is Mecca.

3. The third is tamattuʿ, which means that [a pilgrim] passes by his mīqāt in the state of sanctification in order to perform the Lesser Pilgrimage and [after completion of the Lesser Pilgrimage] enters into his ordinary condition (yataḥallal) at Mecca and enjoys what was prohibited to him [while in the state of sanctification] until the time of Pilgrimage, then enters [again] into the state of sanctification for Pilgrimage. A person will not be a 'mutamattiʿ' unless he satisfies five conditions.

   1) He must not [during the period of tamattuʿ] be among those who stay near the Sacred Mosque (al-Masjid al-Ḥarām). Those who stay near [the Sacred Mosque] are [keeping] within such a distance from it as not to require that the prayer be curtailed.

   2) He must perform Lesser Pilgrimage before the Greater Pilgrimage.

3) He must perform the Lesser Pilgrimage within the months of Greater Pilgrimage.

4) He must not return back to the mīqāt of the Greater Pilgrimage, or to a similar distance, in order to enter into the state of sanctification for the Greater Pilgrimage.

5) Both the Greater and Lesser Pilgrimages must be on behalf of one and the same person.

If these conditions are realized, the pilgrim becomes a 'mutamatti' and it is necessary for him to offer the blood of a sheep. If he does not have a sheep, then he must fast for three days, either consecutively or separately, during the Pilgrimage [but] before the Day of Sacrifice (yawm al-naḥr), and seven [days] when he returns home. If he has not fasted for the three days until he returns home, he must fast for ten [days] either consecutively or separately. The substitutionary offering of the blood [offered] for qirān and tamattuʿ is the same. Ifrād is the best, then [comes] tamattuʿ and then qirān.

As for the forbidden things (maḥẓūrāt) of Pilgrimage and Lesser Pilgrimage, there are six.

1. The wearing of shirts, trousers, boots, and turbans. But it is commendable to wear lion cloth ('izār), robe (ridā'), and sandals (naʿlayn). If one does not have sandals [one can wear] a shoe with the upper leather cut away (mukaʿabayn). And also, if one does not have a lion cloth [one can wear] trousers. There is no harm [in wearing] a girdle and sitting in the shade of the maḥmil, but he ought not cover his head since his sanctification is in the head. A woman can wear any sewn [dress] but she must not cover her face

with anything that touches it because her sanctification is in her face.

2. Scent. Let him [a pilgrim] abstain from using anything which sane people might recognize as being scent. If he uses scent, or wears [prohibited dress] he must sacrifice a sheep as blood [offering].

3. Shaving and baring [of nails]. There is a ransom, that is to say a blood offering of a sheep, for these things. There is no harm in [using] kohl, entering the [public] bath-house, bloodletting, cupping, and combing the hair.

4. Sexual intercourse. It vitiates [the Pilgrimage if it occurs] before the first desacralization (al-taḥallul al-'awwal) and [a sacrifice] of a camel, or a cow, or seven sheep [is required]; but if it occurs after the first desacralization, a camel is necessary and the Pilgrimage is not invalitaed. invalidated

5. The preliminary [elements] of sexual intercourse such as kissing and embracing which, if done with a woman, renders the ritual purification invalid. This is [strictly] prohibited and for it a sheep [offering is required]; the same goes for masturbation. To marry or to give in marriage is forbidden, but there is no blood [offering] for it because [the contract] is not conclusive.

6. Killing of a wild game, that is to say whatever is [lawfully] edible, or is born from [a mixture of] lawful and prohibited [animals]. If [the pilgrim] kills game, he must sacrifice what is equal to it from the live-stock, giving [due] regard to the natural affinity [between species]. The game of the sea is lawful and no reparation is required for it.

The Second Chapter Concerning the Sequence of "External Acts" /al-A'māl al-Ẓāhirā/ from the Beginning of the Journey Until the Return. This Chapter /Consists of/ Ten Subsection

I. Concerning the journey from the beginning uptto the sanctification; this subsection /consists of/ eight /divisions/.

1. Concerning money. He /the pilgrim/ ought to begin with repentance, redress of grievances, payment of debts, arrangements for provisions for /those for whom he must provide until his return/ returning of the trusts /entrusted/ to him, taking in hand a lwaful and fair /sum of/ money that would be sufficient for him /on his way/ to and fro without parsimony /on his part/, and /would enable him/ to be liberal with his provisions and benevolent toward the weak and destitute. /Furthermore/ he should, before setting out, give away something as alms, as well as buy for himself or hire a strong beast of burden that will not /be likely to/ weaken /under the strain of the journey/. If he hires /the Beast/, he must show the hirer what he intends to load on it, no matter how little or great, and obtain /the hirer's/ consent in the matter.

2. Concerning the companion. /The Pilgrim/ should find a companion who is pious, fond of and intent on the good, /so that/ if he forgets /something, the companion/ will remind him; and if he remembers /something, the companion/ will help him /accomplish it/; and if he fears /something, the companion/ will encourage him; and if he becomes weak,

[the companion] will strengthen him; and if he becomes annoyed, [the companion] will calm him. Then he [should] bid farewell to his friends who live with him, his brothers, and his neighbours -- bid them farewell and request their prayers, for God Most High does good [things] through their prayers. The customary way of taking farewell is to say, "I entrust to God your religion, your honesty, and the fruits of your labours." [The Apostle of God] -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- used to say to anyone intending to travel, "[May you be] in God's care and His shelter, may God provision you with piety and pardon your sin and direct you to the good wherever you may be."

3. On setting out from home. When [the pilgrim] has resolved to come out, he should say a prayer of two rak'ās, reciting after al-Fātiḥa, "Say, O ye disbelievers!" [109] in the first rak'ā, and [sūrat] al-Ikhlāṣ in the second; and when he finishes, [he should] lift his hands up and call sincerely and with good intention upon God Most High [saying], "O God, You are the companion in travelling, and You are [my] deputy in respect to [my] family, [my] wealth, [my] children, and [my] friends. Protect us and them from all calamity and infirmity. O God, we ask You, for righteousness and piety in this our journey, and such deeds as are acceptable to You. O God, we ask You encompass the earth on our behalf and to facilitate the journey for us and provide us in this journey with soundness of body, religion, and earthy goods; and enable us [to perform] the Pilgrimage to Your House and to visit the tomb of Your Prophet, Muḥammad -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him. O God, we seek Your protection from the hardship of travel, the sorrow of death and the prospect of evil for [my] family, for [my] possessions,

for [my] children and [my] friends. O God, place us and them in Your vicinity and do not deprive us and them of your beneficent gift, neither change what is with us and with them of Your good health.

4. When he reaches the gate of his house he says, "In the name of God, I rely upon God; there is neither might nor power but in God. O Lord, I seek protection from You [so that I will] neither mislead nor be misled; neither humiliate nor be humiliated; neither cause [others] to slip nor be made to slip; neither oppress nor be oppressed; neither behave foolishly [towards others] nor be fooled. O God, I go forth neither boastfully nor heedlessly nor [in an attitude of] hypocrisy nor [for the sake of] fame. I go forth out of fear of Your wrath and out of a need for Your consent, [wishing to fulfill] Your commandment and to follow the custom (Sunnā) of Your Prophet and desiring to meet You." Then, when he has gone forth, he says, "O God, through You I was brought to life, and upon you I have placed my trust. In You I find shelter and towards You I direct my face. O God, You are the One I trust, and You are my hope. Make sufficient for me [both] that which I care about and that which I do not care about, as well as that which You know better than I. Mighty is the one whom You have protected! Great is Your praise! There is no duty other than You. O God, provide me with piety and forgive me my sin and direct me to goodness wherever I turn face." Let him say this prayer at every place he happens to enter.

5. On riding. As he rides the camel, [the pilgrim should] say, "In the name of God, through God, God is greatest. I have placed my trust in God. There is neither might nor power except through the Most High Most Great. Whatever God intends happens and that which He does not

intend will never happen. Holy is He Who has made this as nothing to us, though we had not the strength to sustain it on our own. To our Lord surely shall we return. O God, I have directed my face to You, and have handed over all my affairs to You, and have placed my trust in you with respect to all my affairs. You are sufficient for me and an excellent Guardian". And When he has taken his seat on the camel and /the camel/ has taken its position under him, he /should/ seven times say. "Glory be to God. Praise be to God. There is no deity save God. God is Most Great"; and /also/ say, "All praise belongs to Allah Who has guided us to this. And we could not have found guidance, if God had not guided us. O God, You are the One Who causes /me/ to ride on the back /of this camel/, and the one whose help is sought in every affair."

6. On taking a rest-stop. The customary thing is not to stop until the heat of day. Thus, the greater part of /the pilgrim's/ journey is in the night. /The Prophet/ -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- said, "Take care to travel at night, for the Land is better traversed by night than by day." Accordingly /the pilgrim/ should lessen his sleep at night in order to expedite his journey. Whenever he approaches a stopping place, he /should/ say, "O God, the Lord of seven heavens and that which they shade, the Lord of the seven /regions of the/ earth and that which they contain, the Lord of Satans and those whom they lead astray, the Lord of winds and that which they disperse, the Lord of the Seas and that which they carry away, I beseech from You the welfare of this place and the welfare of its members, and I take refuge in You from evil /of this place/ and from the evil of that which is therein;

turn away from me the evil of the evil ones among them." Then, when he stops at the place, he should perform a prayer [consisting] of two rok'as, then says, "I take refuge in all of God's words, which neither the pious man nor the sinful man can pass by, from the evil of that which He created." And when the night becomes dark he should say, "O earth, my Lord and your Lord is God. I take refuge from your evil, the evil of that which lies within you and the evil of that which creeps upon you. I take refuge in God from the evil of every lion, serpent, snake and scorpion, and from the evil of the townsman and of the father and his son. 'To Him belongs whatever dwells in the night and the day. And He is the All-hearing, the All-knowing."(6 :14).

7. On Being on one's guard. [The pilgrim] should be on his guard during the day. Let him not venture alone away from the caravan, for he may be assassinated or lose [his way]. [He should also] be on his guard at night [especially] while sleeping. If he sleeps in the beginning of the night, let him spread out his arm; and if he sleeps in the later part of the night, [then let him] raise his arm up and place his head on his palm. Thus was how the Prophet of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- used to sleep while travelling. For it is probable that [if the pilgrim does not take such precaution] the sleeping will become heavy and the sun will rise without his notice. Therefore, what he missed of the [obligatory] prayer outweights what he gained from the Pilgrimage. The most desirable thing at night is to let the two mates arrange to be on guard by turns [so that] when one sleep, the other will be keeping watch. This is the custom (al-Sunna). If an enemy or a beast of prey heads toward him, by night or day, let him

read 'āyat al-Kursiy', 'shahid Allāh', 'al-Ikhlās', and 'al-mu'awad-hatayn', then let him say, "In the name of God. Whatever God wills [comes to pass], there is no power save in God. God is sufficient for me and I have placed my trust in God. Whatever God wills [comes to pass], no one brings good [to pass] but God. Whatever God wills [comes to pass], no one turns away evil but God. God is quite sufficient for me. God hears whomever calls [Him]. There is no terminus beyond God and no shelter besides God. "God has decreed: most surely I will prevail, I and My Messengers. Verily, God is powerful, Mighty." I fortify myself through God the Great, and I seek aid from the Living Who will never die. O God, protect us with Your Eye Which does not sleep, and shelter me with Your support that will not be moved. O God, show mercy on us through Your power over us, let us not perish while You are our confidence and our hope. O God, let the hearts of your male and female servants, incline towards us with clemency and mercy. You are the Most Merciful of all those who show mercy."

8. Whenever he ascends a promontory of the land on his way, it is commendable for him to magnify [God by saying "God is Great"] three times, and to say. "O God, Yours is Dignity over any other dignity, and Yours is Praise in every condition." And when he descends he should glorify [God by saying 'Subhān 'Allāh']. And whenever he is afraid from loneliness in his travel, he [should] say, "Glory be to God, the King, the Holy One, the Lord of Angels and the [Holy] Spirit; You have honoured the Heavens with glory and might."

II. Concerning the proprieties of the ihrām [state of sanctification] from the miqāt to the entering of Mecca. [This subsection consists of] five divisions.

1. [The pilgrim] must perform the major ablution [i.e. the bath] with the intention to perform the ablution for the 'iḥrām [i.e. the state of sanctification]; when he reaches the famous mīqāt where people enter the iḥrām, he completes the major ablution by cleaning [himself], then combs his beard and his head, bares his nails, cuts his moustache and completes the cleansing that we mentioned in [the chapter on] purity.

2. He must put aside all sewn clothing and wear the two [special] 'iḥrām garments: (1) a ridā' and (2) two white lioncloths. White clothing is the most desirable [in the eyes] of God Most High. Then he uses scent on his clothes and body, and there is no harm if a trace of scent remained [on the clothing] after 'iḥrām, for "Some of the musk which the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- had used before 'iḥrām was seen on his forehead after 'iḥrām."

3. He should wait after putting on [iḥrām] garments until his camel starts, if he is riding, or he himself sets out walking, if he is on foot, then, at this moment, he should express his intention of having entered into 'iḥrām [as a preparation] for the Greater or Lesser Pilgrimage either of qirān or 'ifrād, as he will. Mere intention is sufficient to validate the 'iḥrām, but the custom is to join with the intention the words of talbiya: "Here am I, O God, here am I; there is no partner with you. Verily, Yours is the praise, the blessing and the kingdom. There is no partner with You." And if he wishes to add more he says, "Here am I happily. Goodness is entirely through Your hands and virtue [is sought] from You. Here am I [to perform] Pilgrimage in truth, in devotion and in bondage. O God, have mercy on Muḥammad and on the family of Muḥammad."

4. If his 'iḥrām is concluded by means of the afore mentioned [formula, called] talbiyā, it is commendable for him then to say, "O God, I intend [to perform] Pilgrimage, [please] make it easy for me and help me to carry out its requirements, and do thou accept it from me. O God, I intend to fulfil what You have required in the Pilgrimage, consider me among those who have responded to you, believed in Your promise, and followed Your command. Consider me among Your guests to whom You are gracious and with whom You are content. O God, make it easy for me to observe the Pilgrimage which I intend to perform. O God, my flesh, my hair, my blood, my nerves, my brain and my bones have all entered into the state of sanctification for Your sake, and I forbid for myself women, scent and the wearing sewn clothing for the sake of Your Face and the Last Day."

From the time of [his entering into] the state of sanctification all the six prohibited things we previously mentioned become forbidden to him. He must avoid them.

5. It is commendable to repeat the talbiyā so long as the state of 'iḥrām lasts, especially when encountering [other] caravans or when coming together with people, or when ascending or descending [hills] or when mounting or dismounting [a riding beast]; he should utter it in a raised voice, but not to the extent that his voice become coarse or he pants, for "he is not calling upon a deaf [person] or absent" as the tradition has it. There is no objection to uttering the talbiyā with a raised voice in the three mosques, for they are supposed to be among the places where rites [are performed]. I mean [by three mosques] the Sacred Mosque (al-Masjid al-Ḥarām), the Mosque of al-

Khayf and the Mosque at the mīqāt. There is, however, no objection in uttering the talbiyā in other mosques, [provided that] the voice is not high. [The Prophet] -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- used to say, whenever attracted by anything, "Here am I. Verily, the life of the hereafter is life [indeed]."

III. Concerning the Proprieties [to be observed] from [the time of] entering Mecca until the circumambulation [of the Ka'ba].

[This subsection includes] six divisions:

1. [The pilgrim must] perform the major ablution at Dhū Ṭuwā [in preparation] for entering of Mecca. The commendable customary [occasions for] the major ablution during the Pilgrimage are nine. [These are] (1) the 'iḥrām at the mīqāt; (2) the entering of Mecca; (3) the circumambulation of the arrival; (4) the standing at [Mount] 'Arafāt; (5) the standing at al-Muzdalifā. (6) Three performances (6,7,8,) of the major ablution [are required] for the throwing of pebbles at the three stones, but none [is required] for the throwing at the stone of al- 'Aqabā. [The final occasion for the major ablution is (9)] the farewell circumambulation. Al-Shāfi'ī -- may God be pleased with him -- does not in his new [doctrine] consider (3) and (9) to be fresh ablution. Hence the number is reduced to seven.

2. Unpon entering the first [part] of the Ḥaram which is outside Mecca, [the pilgrim] is to say, "O God, this is Your Sanctuary and Your security, so make my flesh, my blood, my hair and my body inviolable against the Fire, and protect me against Your punishment on the Day You raise Your servants [from the dead], and consider me as one of Your friends and those obedient to you."

3. [The pilgrim] must enter Mecca through al-ʾAbṭaḥ which is [a part of] the Kadāʾ path. [The tradition says that], "The Apostle of God-- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- deviated from his course [in order to go] to it" and following his example is better. Then when going out [of the city] he leaves via the Kuda path which is the lower path while the first [i.e. Kadāʾ] is the higher.

4. When he enters Mecca and reaches Ra's al-Radm where his eyes fall upon the House, he then says, "There is no deity but God. God is the Most Great. O God, You are the Peace, and the Peace is from You. Your House is house of Peace. You are the Blessed One, O Lord of Glory and Honour. O God, this is Your House [which] You magnified, nohoured and exalted. O God, increase its magnificence, increase its exaltation and its honour. Increase its prestige and increase those who make the Pilgrimage to it in righteousness and dignity. O God, open for me the doors of Your Mercy and let me enter Your Paradise and protect me from Satan the Accursed."

5. When he enters the Sacred Mosque (al-Masjid al-Ḥarām) through the gate of Banū Shaybā, he says, "In the name of God, through God, from God, to God, for the sake of God and according to the religion of the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him." And when he approaches the House, he says, "Praise be to God and Peace be upon those servants of his whom He has chosen. O God, grant blessing to Muḥammad Your servant and Your Apostle, and to Abraham Your intimate friend, and to the rest of Your Prophets and Apostles"; then he raises his hands and says, "O God, I ask You in this the place of the first of my rites to accept my repentance and forgive my shortcoming and put aside my

transgression. Praise be to God Who brought me to His Sacred House that He has established a refuge for mankind and [a place of] safety, and made it [the House] blessed and a guidance for all the worlds. O God, I am Your servant and the city is Your city and the Sanctuary is your Sanctuary and the House is Your House; I come to You Seeking for Your mercy and beseeching You as one Who is under duress and fearful of Your punishment, [but] hopeful of Your mercy and desirous of Your acceptance."

6. Then [the pilgrim] goes directly to the Black Stone and touches it with his right hand and kisses it, saying, "O God, my charge I have carried it out, and my covenant I fulfilled it. So witness for me that I fulfilled it." If he cannot kiss it, he stands facing it and saying this same [prayer]. Then proceeds straightaway to the [circumambulation which is called] Ṭawāf al Qudūm [i.e. circumambulation of the Arrival] unless he finds the people [engaged] in the obligatory [prayer], in which case he should pray with them and then perform the Ṭawāf.

IV. Concerning the Ṭawāf (circumambulation). If [the pilgrim] intends to start the Ṭawāf, whether the Ṭawāf al-Qudūm or another [Ṭawāf], he must observe six things:

1. First, he must observe the conditions [governing] ritual prayer, such as purity from the ritual contamination (ḥadath) and uncleanness (Khabath) of the clothing, body and place [of prayer], as well as the covering of nakedness. For circumambulation of the House is prayer, but God Most High has permitted talking during it. Let [the pilgrim], before starting the Ṭawāf, fling the central part of his garment under

his right armpit and put both its ends on his left shoulder, then let down one end on his back and the other on his chest. He should end the talbiya when starting the Ṭawāf and bury himself with invocation which we will mention [later].

2. When he has finished arranging [his garments in the manner described above], he is to put the House on left and stand by the Black Stone leaving a small space between so that the Stone is in front of him; then as he begins the Ṭawāf he is to pass by the whole of the stone with the whole of his body. He should leave between him and the House [a space] of about three steps so as to be near to the House, since that is better, and so he will not be circumambulating in the Shādharwān (fountain), for it is [a part] of the House, [though] at the Stone, the Shādharwān may join the ground and become confused with it. One who circumambulates around it has [performed] an invalid circumambulation, for he has circumambulated inside the House. The fountain is that part which remained outside [the original] breadth of the wall of the House after the upper wall was narrowed. The Ṭawāf begins from this spot.

3. Let him say before going beyond the Stone, but at the beginning of the Ṭawāf, "In the name of God. God is the Most Great. O God, believing in You and Believing in Your Book and in fulfillment of Your covenant and following the Sunnā of Your Prophet Muḥammad -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- [I begin Ṭawāf], then he proceeds with the Ṭawāf. As soon as he passes by the House [whereupon] he says, "O God, this House is Your House and this Sanctuary is Your Sanctuary, and this Security is Your Security, and this is the place of the one who seeks

refuge in You from the Fire." When reciting the [word] "Place" (maqām), he points with his eyes to the place of Abraham -- Peace be on him -- [and continue], "O God, Your House is Great and Your Countenance is gracious and You are the Most Merciful of those who show mercy; protect me from the Fire [and] from Satan the Accursed, make my flesh and my blood inviolable against the Fire, and save me from the terror of the Day of Judgment, and make sufficient for me the provisions of this world and of the Hereafter." Then he glorifies God Most High and praises Him until he reaches al Rukn al'Irāqī where he says, "O God, I seek refuge with you from idolatry and doubt and unbelief and hypocrisy and discord and immorality and the evil eye in respect to [my] family, [my] wealth and [my] children." Then, when he reaches the Mīzāb (Spout) he says, "O God, shade us under [the shadow] of Your Throne on the day when there is no shadow except Yours. O God, offer me a drink from the Cup of Muḥammad -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- a drink that will quench my thirst for ever." And when he reaches al-Rukn al-Shāmī, he says, "O God, make this an accepted Pilgrimage and a praised one ; and [cause] the endeavour therein to be rewarded, and sin to be forgiven, and let not the merchandise perish, O the Almighty, the Forgiver. O Lord, forgive, show mercy and pardon me whatever [sins] You know of. You are the Almighty the Benign." When he reaches the Rukn al-Yamānī, he says, O God, I seek refuge in You from unbelief, and I seek refuge in You from poverty, from the punishment of the grave and from the trial of life and death. I seek refuge in You from the disgrace of this world and of the Hereafter." And [while he is]

between al-Rukn al Yamānī and the Black Stone, he says, "Our Lord, grant us good in this world as well as good in the world to come, and protect us with Your Mercy against the trial of the grave and the torment of the Fire." And when he reaches the Black Stone, he says,"O God, forgive me through Your Mercy. I seek refuge in the Lord of this Stone from debt and poverty and from sadness [lit. narrowness of the chest] and the torment of the grave." With this, one circuit has been completed. [The pilgrim] is to circumambulate seven times in the same manner and repeat the [same] invocations during each circuit.

4. He must hasten his pace in the [first] three circuits and do the remaining four in a normal pace. The meaning of "haste" (ramal) is quickness of walking with close steps. It is slower than running and faster than ordinary walking, and the idea behind it and behind 'idtibāgh is the demonstration of skill, toil and [physical] strength. Thus, the original idea [behind this] was to eliminate any desire on the part of unbelievers [to participate]. The custom has remained since. It is preferable to quicken the pace when one is near to the House; if he was unable to do so because of congestion, then [it is preferable] to quicken the pace when one is further away. Let [the pilgrim] withdraw to the margin of the circumambulation area (maṭāf) and quicken his pace three [times], then go near to the House in the congestion and walk [the circuit] four [times]. If it is possible for him to kiss the Stone on every circuit, so much the better, but if he is prevented by the congestion, let him make a gesture [simulating touching] with his hand then kiss his hand. Likewise, the touching of al-Rukn al-Yamānī is commendable from [its] all corners. It is reported that [the Prophet] -- the Blessing

and Peace of God be upon him -- used to touch al-Rukn al-Yamānī and kiss it and put his cheek on it. Whoever wishes to confine kissing to the [Black] Stone and restrict himself to touching al-Rukn al-Yamānī, I mean touching it with hand, is more deserving.[1]

5. When [the pilgrim] has completed the seven circuits of the circumambulation, let him come to al-Multazam which lies between the [Black] Stone and the House, and which is a place of responding to the summons (daʿwā); and let him attach himself to the House, clinging to its curtains, and let him place his front side against the House, with his right cheek [touching] it and his arms and palms spread upon it, then say, "O God, O Lord of the Ancient House [i.e. the Kaʿba] free me (lt.free my neck) from the Fire; preserve me from Satan the Accursed; preserve me from all afflictions; make me content with what You have bestowed upon me and bless that which You have given me. O God, this House is Your House and this servant is Your Servant, and this is the Place of the one who seeks refuge with You from the Fire. O God, let me be the most virtuous of Your delegates to You." Then let him praise God frequently at this place, and pray for his Apostle -- the Blesing and Peace of God be upon him -- as well as for the other Apostles, then for his special needs, asking forgiveness for his trespasses. One of the Fathers used to say at this place to his servants, "Leave me alone to confess my trespasses to my Lord."

6. When this finished, it is befitting to say a prayer of two rakʿās behind the Maqām reciting in the first [rakʿā], "Say, O ye disbelievers!" [109] and in the second, sūrat al-ʾIkhlāṣ [112]. These [two

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[1] There is probably a mistake in this sentence "أعني عن اللمس باليد" The Correction comes from al-Zabidi. "أعني اللمس باليد"

rak'ās] are [called] the rak'ās of circumambulation. Al-Zuhrī said, "the orginal custom was to pray two rak'ās for every circumambulation." But, if he joins together several circumambulations and prays two rak'ās [for the whole], this is allowed, for the Apostle of God-- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- has done so. Every circumambulation consists of seven circuits. And let him say after the two rak'ās of Ṭawāf, "O God, make smooth for me the path to bliss and keep me from the path of distress. Forgive me in the Hereafter and in this world; and preserve me through Your Grace so that I will not disobey You. Help me to obey You with [the help of] Your guidance, and keep me from disobeying You. Consider me among those who love You and love Your Angels, Your Apostles and love Your righteous servants. O God, render me lovable to Your Apostles and to Your righteous servants. O God, as You have guided me to Islam, make me firm in it by Your Grace and Your Power, and use me for Your obedience and obedience of Your Apostle, and protect me from the misleading temptations." Then, he should return to the [Black] Stone, touch it and conclude the circumambulation around it. [The Prophet] -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- said, "Whoever circumambulates the House seven times and prays a prayer of two rak'ās has a reward as though he had freed a slave." This is how the circumambulation [is to be performed]. The absolute requirements (al-wājib) of the circumambulation, as a whole, beyond those which apply to the ritual prayer (ṣalāt), are [as follows: one must] must complete seven Ṭawāfs [around] the whole House; one must begin [the Ṭawāf] from the Black Stone, with the House on one's left, circumambulating within the Mosque, but outside the House and not around

the Fountain (Shādharwān) or in the Ḥijr; and one must perform the circuits in succession, not separating them other than in the usual way. All other things are customs (Sunan) and forms (Hai'āt).

Concerning the Running (Sa'y).

When [the pilgrim] has finished the Ṭawāf, let him go out through the gate of al-Ṣafā which is opposite the corner [of the House] that is between al-Rukn al-Yamānī and [Black] Stone. When he has done this and has reached al-Ṣafā which is a mount, he then climbs [the mount until he has reached] a height from the base of the mount equal to a man's stature. The Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him - climbed [the mount] to the point where the Ka'ba was visible to him. To begin the Sa'y [i.e. running between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwā] from the base of the mount is sufficient. The addition [i.e. the climbing] is recommended, although some of the stages of [climbing, i.e. the higher stages] are an innovation. One should not leave them [i.e. the stages of climbing] behind lest one did not consummate the Sa'y fully. One begins from here then runs briskly between [al-Ṣafā] and al-Marwā seven times.

When climbing al-Ṣafā, [the pilgrim] should face the House and say, "God is Most Great. Praise be to God for His Guiding us. Praise be to God by all His praiseworthinesses for all His Grace. There is no deity but God alone; He has no partner; His is the kingdom and His the praise; He gives life, and He causes death; in His hand is all good, and he has power over everything. There is no deity but God alone. He has no partner. He has executed His promise, and has given victory to His servant, and has made strong His army, and He has alone defeated the hosts of infidels. There is no deity but God, toward Whom [the pious] are sincere, though

unbelievers may be averse. There is no deity but God, toward Whom [the pious] are sincere. Praise be to God, Lord of all the worlds. So, glorify God when you enter the evening and when you enter the morning. And to Him belongs all praise in the heavens and the earth; and [glorify Him] in the afternoon and when you enter upon the time of the decline of the sun, He brings forth the living from the dead, and He brings forth the dead from the living; and He gives life to the earth after its death. And in like manner shall you be brought forth. And [one] of His signs [is this] that He created you from dust, then, behold, you are men who move about [on the face of the earth]. O God, I ask of you everlasting faith and true conviction and profitable knowledge and a God-fearing heart and a tongue which praises [You]. I ask of You favour and good health and constant peace in this world and in the hereafter. " Then he prays for Mhummad -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him. Having completed these invocations, he then prays to God concerning whatsoever [personal] needs he wishes [to mention].

Then, he comes down [from the mount] and begins the Sa'y saying, "O Lord, forgive, show mercy and pardon me of that which is known to You, You are the Almighty, Most Benign. O God, grant us good in this world as well as good in the world to come, and protect us from the torment of the Fire." Then he walks leisurely until he reaches the Green Slope (al-mail al-akhḍar) which is the first thing one comes to, upon descending from al-Ṣafā and which is situated at the corner of the Sacred Mosque. When there remains about six cubits between him and the position opposite the Slope, he starts walking briskly in the manner which is [called] "ramal" until he reaches the two Green Slopes, then resumes

the leisurely /pace/.

When he reaches al-Marwa, he goes up as he did at al-Safa and, facing al-Safa, utters the same invocation /that he used on al Safa/. One complete Sa'y is /now/ completed, and when he returns to al-Safa two Sa'ys have been completed. He must perform /the Sa'y/ seven times and quicken his pace (ramal) at the proper place during each /Sa'y/ as well as /resume/ a leisurely pace at the proper place, as /mentioned/ previously, and he must go up al-Safa and al-Marwa each time. If he does this, he has completed the Tawaf of arrival and the Sa'y both of which are Sunna. Ritual purity is recommended for the Sa'y, but not obligatory, contrary to the Tawaf. If he performs the Sa'y /once/, he should not perform it again after the Wuquf /on Mount 'Arafat/. He ought to be satisfied with that as a "rukn", for it is not a precondition for Sa'y to be delayed /until after/ the Wuquf, although that is a precondition for the obligatory Tawaf (Tawaf al-Rukn). A precondition for every Sa'y is, however, that it must occur after a Tawaf of some kind /i.e. Tawaf al Rukn, or other kind/.

VI. On the Wuquf and what precedes it:

If the pilgrim reaches "Arafat" on the Day of 'Arafat, let him not waste time in doing the Tawaf of Arrival, or /Tawaf/ for entering Mecca, before /and instead of/ Wuquf. But if he arrived some days before that and did the circumambulation (Tawaf) of the arrival, let him stay in the state of being sacralized (muhriman) until the seventh day of Dhu al-Hijja when the 'imam will deliver a sermon at the time of afternoon /prayer/ at the Ka'ba, and will order people to prepare for the journey to Minna on the Day of Tarwiya and to spend a night there. And then

in the morning to go from there to ʿArafāt in order to observe the duty of Standing (Wuqūf) after the decline of the sun (baʿd al-zawāl). The [prescribed] time for the Standing is from the decline [of sun] up to the rising of ull dawn, on the Day of Sacrifice. It is befitting to go down to Mina chanting the talbiya, and it is recommended that [the pilgrim] walks from Mecca [as he performs the various] rites until the [entire] Pilgrimage is over, provided that he is able to do so. Walking from the Mosque of Abraham -Peace be on him -- to the place of the Wuqūf [al-mawāqif] is especially meritorious and sanctioned (ʾafḍalu waʾākadu).

And on reaching Mina, let him say, ~~"O God, this is Mina, let say,~~ "O God, this is Mina, bestow upon me what You have bestowed upon Your Friends and those obedient to You." Let him stay that night at Mina which is just a place for spending the night and has nothing to do with rites. When he gets up on the morning of the Day of ʿArafāt, let him perform the morning prayer; then when the sun rises on the Mount Thabīr, let him proceed to ʿArafāt, saying, "O God, make it the best journey I have ever taken and the closest to [gaining] Your acceptance and the furthest from [incurring] Your Wrath. O God, to You I come and in You [alone] I hope and upon You I rely; Your countenance do I desire. [O God] include me today among those of whom You boast to those who are better and more excellent than I.

When he comes to ʿArafāt, let him pitch his tent at Namira quite near to the mosque, for it is there that the Apostle of God pitched his dome (qubba). Namira is a part of ʿUrna just below the place of Wuqūf and [Mount] ʿArafāt. Let him perform the major ablution for the Wuqūf; and when the sun declines, the Imām delivers a short sermon and sits down,

and the Muezzin gives the prayer-call and the 'Imām [then] starts the second sermon. 'Iqāma (institution) must be joined with the 'Adhān (prayer-call), and the 'Imām will finish [his sermon] with the completion of the 'Iqāma by Muezzin, then jojns together both Ẓuhr and ʿAṣr prayers with one 'adhān and two 'iqāmas, but curtails the prayers. [After that] he goes to the place of Wuqūf, he must stand on [Mount] ʿArafāt not on the valley of ʿUrna.

The Mosque of Abraham -- Peace be on him -- is, however, situated partly in the valley [of ʿUrna] and partly on [Mount] ʿArafāt. Therefore, whoever stands at the front of the Mosque, has not performed the Wuqūf on ʿArāft. The site of ʿArafāt is distinguished from the Mosque by some big rocks spread out there. The best [procedure] is to stand by the rocks near the 'Imām, facing the qiblā (i.e. Kaʿbā) and mounted [on a beast]. [The pilgrim] should recite frequently the various formulas of praise, glorification, confession of faith, eulogy of God Most High, and supplication and repentance, but he should not past on that day so that he will have strength to persevere in his supplications. Let him not stop [uttering] the talbiya on the Day of ʿArafāt; the most desirable [practice] is to utter the talbiya part of the time and to concentrate on supplication the rest of the time.

He ought not to leave the site of ʿArafāt until after sunset so as to join day with night. If it is possible for him to stand for some time on the eighth [of Dhū al-Ḥijja] in case of a mistake in the [exact date] of the moon, this is prudent and is a safeguard against [the possibility of] having missed [the Wuqūf].

Whoever misses the Wuqūf up to the break of dawn on the Day of

Sacrifice, has missed the Pilgrimage and must terminate the state of sanctification (ʾiḥrām) by [performing] the rites of Lesser Pilgrimage, then offer a blood sacrifice for missing [the Pilgrimage]; he must discharge [his unfulfilled duty] the following year. Let supplicatory prayer be then his chief preoccupation, for that day. It is in such a place and at such a gathering that the acceptance of one's supplication is most to be hoped for.

The supplicatory formula transmitted from the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- as well as from the Fathers on the Day of ʿArafāt is the best thing to use as a supplication. So, let [the pilgrim] say [it], "There is no deity but God alone, He has no partner; His is the kingdom and His the praise; He gives life, and He causes death; He is the Living that will never die; in His hand is all good and He has power over every thing. O God, set a light in my heart, and a light in my ears, and a light in my sight and a light in my tongue. O God, enlarge my breast and make easy for me my affair." He then says, "O God, the Lord of praise. Yours is praise, as spoken by us and better than what we speak; and Yours is my prayer and my sacrifice and my life and my death, and to You is my return and from You is my reward. O God, I seek refuge in You from anxious thoughts and from the disruption of [my] affairs and from the torment of the grave. O God, I seek refuge in You from the evil of that which enters in the night, and from the evil of that which enters in the daylight, and from the evil of that is carried in by the winds, and from the evil of the misfortunes of life. O God, I seek refuge in you from the change of Your Grace and the sudden [attack of] Your punishment and the totality of Your wrath. O God, guide me with guidance and forgive

me in the hereafter and in this world. O the best of all those who are besough and best of all those who are called upon and most generous of those who are petitioned, give me this evening the best of that which You have given to any of Your creatures and pilgrims of Your House, O Most Merciful of those who show mercy. O God, O Most Exalted of attributes and Who sends down Blessings. O Creator of Lands and Skies! Voices have cried aloud to You in different languages asking You [to satisfy their] needs. And my need before You is that You forget me not in this house of affliction when the people of the world have forgotten me. O God, You hear my speech and see my place and know both my secret and that which I reveal, and none of my affairs is concealed from You. I am miserable and poverty-stricken, a seeker of aid and refuge, fearful and apprehensive, confessing my sins. I implore You as one who is destitue I beseech You with the supplication of an abject sinner, and I call upon You as a blind and frightened man, as one who submits utterly to You, and cries out to You, with body prostrate before You, having been subdued by You. O God, do not make me to be disappointed in praying to You. Be merciful and compassionate, O best of those who hear supplications and best of those who bestow. O God, though some may praise themselves before You, I will blame myself before You. My God, the sins have made my tongue silent and I have no means [to perform good] deeds, and no intercessor except hope. My God, I know that [because of] my sins I no longer have any standing with You, nor is there any ground for excuse. But You are the Most Generous of the generous. My God, if I am not suited to reach Your mercy, Your mercy is suited to reach me, for Your mercy encompasses all things, and I am a thing. My God, though my sins are grave, they are small

as compared with Your pardon, so forgive them O Most Generous One. My God, You are You and I am I; I persist in sin, and You persist in forgiveness. My God, if You do not have mercy except on those who obey You, to whom shall sinners betake themselves? My God, I intentionally have avoided Your obedience and have gone straight into disobedience. Glory be to You. How irrefutable is Your case against me, and how generous is Your pardon forward me! By the decisiveness of Your case against me and the futility of my case against You, by my need for You and Your lack of need for me, forgive me O Best of those who are called upon by any petitioner, and Most Gracious of those who are besought by any solicitor. By the sacredness of Islam and the guarantee of Muḥammad -- [the Blessing and] Peace of God be upon him] -- I beseech You to forgive me all my sins and send me from this place of standing with my needs granted. Bestow upon me what I ask and fulfil my hope in accordance with that I desire. My God, I have prayed to You with the prayer that you have taught me, so do not censure me from the hope which You have instilled in me. My God, what will You do this evening with a servant who confessed to you his sins, submitted to You in humiliation, yielded [to You] his body, humiliated himself before You because of this [bad] deeds, repented to You [of such deeds], asking You to forgive his transgression, beseeching You to pardon him, seeking from You the satisfaction of his needs, hoping in You in this place of standing despite the multitude of his sins. O shelter for every living thing and friend of every believer; whoever does well, obtains Your mercy and whoever transgresses, preshes in his transgression. O God, to You we come and in Your open place we dismount; and to You alone we look and Your favour we seek and to Your

beneficence we expose ourselves. We hope for Your compassion and we fear Your punishment. To You we fall with the burden of [our] sins and to Your Sacred House we woke Pilgrimage. O You Who possess all that is needed by [Your] supplicants, You Who know the thoughts of the silent. O You Who have no other Lord to be petitioned and beyond Whom there is no other creator to be feared. O You Who have no vizier to be consulted and no chamberlain to be bribed. O You Who do not respond to the accumulated petitions except with bounty and excellence, and do not provide for the great quantity of needs but with favour and charity. O God, You have appointed hospitality for every guest, and we are Your guests; so let our hospitality from You be Paradise. O God, there is recompense for every delegate, and bounty for every visitor, and a gift for every petitioner, and fulfillment for all who hope, and satisfaction for all who request that which is in Your possession, and mercy for all who seek mercy, and nearness [to You] for all who desire You, and pardon for all who implore. [O God] we have come to Your Sacred House and stood at these great religious [places] of ceremony and attended these great shrines hoping for Your favour. Do not make us to be disappointed. Our God, You have blessed [us] repeatedly so that [our] souls have grown confident of the continuous flowing of Your blessing, and You have brought forth examples [for our consideration] until [even] the speechless things have contended on Your behalf, and You have disclosed Your Grace until Your friends confessed their falling short of Your truth, and You have revealed many signs that even the heavens and the earth have eloquently advanced as proof [of Your Word], and You have overcome [everything] with Your Might until everything has submitted to Your Power, and all faces have been humble before Your Grandness. If Your

servants displease You, You forbear and give respite; and if they do well, You then show favour toward them and accept them; and if they disobey You, You conceal [it]; and if they commit sins, You pardon and forgive; and if they call [upon You], You Listen; and if we call, You hear; and if we come to You, You draw near; and if we turn away from You, You call [us back]. Our Lord, You have said in Your Book [the Qur'an] to Muhammad the Seal of the Prophets, "Say to those who disbelieve, if they desist, that which is past will be forgiven them" (8 : 39), so the espousal of the confession of Divine Unity, after [a former state of] unbelief, satisfie You. We humbly bear witness to [Your] Unity, and we sincerely, [bear witness] to the Apostlehood of Muhammad, So forgive us of previous sins because of this witness and let not our share in [Islam] be less than the share of those who embraces Islam [after us]. Our God, You have encouraged [people to] approach You by setting free what they have possessed (i.e. their slaves); now we are Your slaves and You are the most entitled to bestow favour; set us free; and You have ordered us to give alms to our poor, and we are Your poor and You are the most entitled to extend [of Your bounty], therefore give alms to us; and You have enjoined us to forgive all who do injustice to us; now we have done injustice to ourselves, and You are the most entitled to act generously; therefore, forgive us. Our Lord, forgive us, have mercy on us, You are our Master. Our Lord, grant us good [things] in this world as well as good in the world to come, and protect us from the torment of the Fire."

Let him use frequently the supplication of Khadir -- Peace be on him -- namely: "O You Whom nothing diverts from anything else, whose hearing does not dwarf from hearing, and whom [many] voices do not confuse.

You Who are not distracted by many appeals, and for whom languages do not differ. O You Who are never vexed by the importuning of those who importune, and Who are never annoyed by the appeal of those who appeal to You, allow us to know the coolness of Your pardon and the sweetness of Your whisperings." He then supplicates for whatever occurs to him, and asks forgiveness for himself, his parents and all believers, male and female. Let him then importune in supplications and enlarge [his] request, for God does not consider anything as [too] great. Mutarrif ibn Abdullah said once while at ʿArafāt, "O God, do not refuse the whole [gathering] because of me"; and Bakr al-Muzami said, "A man said, 'When I looked on the people of ʿArafāt, I thought that they might all have been forgiven were it not for my being among them?". On the remaining rites of the Pilgrimage after the Standing (Wuqūf) [namely] the Lodging [at Minā], the throwing, the Sacrifice, the shaving, and the circumambulation.

If [the pilgrim] goes forth from Arafat after sunset he ought to be calm and quiet, and avoid agitating the horses and inciting the camels as some people used to do, for the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- forbade agitating horses and inciting camels, and said, "Fear God and proceed gracefully. Do not tread on a weak [person] and do not harm a Muslim." Then when he reaches al-Muzdalifā he must perform the major ablution, because al-Muzdalifa is a part of the Haram; therefore, let him enter it clean. If he is able to enter on foot, it is better [to do so] and more respectful of Haram. On the way [to Muzdalifā] he should raise his voice chanting the talbiya.

When he reaches al-Muzdalifā he should say, "O God, this is

Muzdalifa where many different languages have been gathered together asking of You lofty requests. Lt me be among those who prayed and You accepted their prayers and those who relied upon You and You sufficed them!" He then join the Maghrib and 'Ishā' prayers at the time of the 'Ishā' [prayer] at al-Muzdalifa, shortening [his prayer]. [Let him pray both prayers with] one 'adhān and two 'iqamas [but] without any supererogatory prayer between them, since he will combine the Maghrib and 'Isha, supererogatory prayers with the Witr prayer after the [Maghrib and 'Isha'] obligatory prayers [have been performed], beginning with the Maghrib supererogatory prayer, and then [procedding to] the 'Ishā' supererogatory prayer, as is the case with the two obligatory prayers. The omission of supererogatory prayers while travelling is an obvious loss, while [on the other hand] the requirement of these [prayers] at fixed times would be a hardship and would cancel out the subordination of these [prayers] to the obligatory prayers. If it is permissible in a single tayammum to do the supererogatory prayers together with obligatory ones in accordance with the rule of subordination, even more so is it permissible to do them collectively in accordance with the rule of subordination. This is not negated by the fact that the supererogatory prayer differs from the obligatory one in that it may be performed while mounted, because of what we have already pointed out with respect to subordination and need. [The pilgrim] then spends that night at Muzdalifa which is a ritual lodging. Whoever goes out from it in the first half of the night, and has not spent the night there has to offer a blood [offering]. To burn the midnight oil during that exalted night is among the best acts of devotion for those who can afford it.

When the night reaches its middle-point, he then prepares for departure. Let him take with him some pebbles from [al-Muzdalifā] for it has smooth pebbles. Let him take seventy pebbles which are the [exact] quantity required. There is no harm in having more on hand, for he may lose some of them. Let the pebbles be light so they can be kept between the knuckles, and let him say the morning prayer [while it is still] dusk, and start walking until the time when he reaches al-Mash'ar al-Ḥarām which is the end of al-Muzdalifā. Then let him stop and pray until just before sunrise, saying, "O God, by the right of al-Mash'ar al-Ḥarām and the Sacred House and the Sacred Month and the Corner and the Place [of Abraham] convey to Muhammad's spirit us greetings and peace and let us enter the House of Peace [Paradise], O Possessor of Majesty and Generosity."

He then goes from it before sunrise till he reaches the place called Wādī Muhassar. It is commendable [for him] to agitate his beast as he passes through the valley; and if he is on foot, let him hasten his walking.

Then, in the morning of the day of Sacrifice, he mixes the talbiya with the takbir, by repeating them alternately, until he reaches Mina and the places of Jamarat which are three. He has to pass by the first and the second [Jamarat] for he has nothing to do with them on the day of Sacrifice, and go ahead to Jamarat al-'Aqaba [the last Jamrā] which is on the right of the front part of the Qibla, on the main road. The throwing place is a bit high on the slope of the mountain [though] it is in clear view of the places of Jamarāt. He throws at Jamrat al Aqaba after the sun has risen as high as a spear.

The manner of doing this [is] to stand facing the Qibla, though

there is no harm if he faces the Jamrā, then to throw seven pebbles raising the hand upward, substituting the takbit for the talbiya, saying with every pebble, "God is Most Great ; /I do this/ in obedience to the Compassionate and in defience of Satan. O God, by my belief in Your Book and my following the Tradition of Your Prophet." When he throws, he ends the talbiya and the takbit except for the takbir after obligatory prayers, /which begin with/ the Ẓuhr prayer on the Day of Sacrifice and /end with/ the morning prayer on the last day of tashriq. He ought not to linger for supplication on this day, for it is better to offer supplication in his house.

The takbīr is said in the following manner: "God is Most Great /three times/, much praise be to God and Glory be to God morning and night. There is no God but God alone. He has no partner. We are sincere toward Him, though the disbelievers may be averse. There is no God but God alone. He has fulfilled His promise, has succoured His slave and, alone, has defeated His foes. There is no God but God. God is Most Great." He then kills the hady if there is any with him; it is best for him to kill it by himself saying, "In the name of God; God is Most Great. O God, from You, in You and to You. Accept from me as You have accepted from Your friend, Abraham."

The Sacrifice made with a camel is best, then with a cow, then with a shāt /a goat or a sheep/; /this latter/ is better than to share a camel or a cow between six /people/. A sheep is better than a goat /and a male is the best in each case/ for the Apostle of God has said, "The best of all sacrifice is the horned ram"; and white is better than grey or black. Abu Hurayarā said, "White is better in sacrificing than the blood of two blacks (i.e. grey and black)." Let him eat from it if it is a supererogatory hady, and let him not make a sacrifice with any lame, maimed, cropped-

eared, mangy, perforated-eared, or emaciated [animals].

Let him then shave [his head]. The customary is to face the Qibla and begin [the shaving] from the fore-head, than shave the right side up to the two bones that go down to the nape, then to shave up the rest [of the head] saying. "O God, establish for me a good deed for every hair and blot out thereby one of my rank thereby raised one degree in Your sight." The female cuts [her] hair. As for those who are bald, it is recommended that they pass the razor over their heads. Whenever [the pilgrim] shaves [his hair] after throwing the pebbles, he obtains the first desacralization, and all the prohibited things except women and hunting becomes lawful to him.

He then goes to Mecca and circumambulates in the manner already described. This circumambulation is essential (rukn) in Pilgrimage ans is called "the circumambulation of visit". Its first time [starts] after midnight of the Night of Sacrifice, and the best time for it is the Day of Sacrifice. There is no end for its time; therefore [the pilgrim] can delay it to any time he wishes, but he must keep himself bound by the ihram so that women will not be lawful to him until he circumambulates. When he circumambulates, [the state of] desacralization becomes complete and sexual intercourse lawful; and [moreover] ihram reaches its end. Nothing remains other than the throwing on the days of Tashriq and the Lodging at Mina. These are duties [done] after the ihram has reached its end as a way of following up the Pilgrimage. The manner of [doing] this circumambulation together with the two rakʿās is as already described [in connection with] the circumambulation of arrival. When he finishes the two rakʿās, let him run [between Ṣafā and Marwā] as [previously] described, provided that he

did not run after the circumambulation of arrival; but if he had already run and the running constituted an essential rite (rukn) it is not necessary for him to repeat the running.

The causes of desacralization are three: the Throwing, the Shaving, and the essential Circumambulation. Whenever he has completed two out of these three, he has attained one of the two desacralization. There is no harm in his doing anyone of these three either first or last upon sacrificing [his victim], but the most recommended way is to throw [first] then to sacrifice, then to shave and [finally] to circumambulate.

It is customary for the Imām in this day to deliver a sermon after decline [of the sun]. This is [like] the sermon of farewell by the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him. There are four [different] sermons in the Pilgrimage: the sermon on the seventh day [of Dhū al-Ḥijja], the sermon of the day of ʿArafat, the sermon on the day of Sacrifice, and the sermon of the day of the first disbanding; and all of them, with the exception of the sermon of the day of ʿArafāt which is [delivered as] two sermons with sitting in between, are single [sermons].

When he finishes the Circumambulation, he returns to Mina to spend the night there and to throw [the pebbles]. He must spend that night at Mina; the night is called Laylat al-Qarr (i.e. night of settlement) for the people will on the morrow be settling at Mina not leaving. When the sermon day of the ʿīd (i.e. festival) comes and the sun declines, he must perform the major ablution [in preparation] for the Throwing. He then goes to the first Jamra which is close to [Mount] ʿArafāt and on

the night he throws at it seven stones. When he passes by it, let him incline a little toward the right of the road and stand facing the Qibla long enough to read the whole of Surat al-Baqara concentrating on supplication. Then he proceeds to the middle Jamra and throws at it as he did at the first and stands also as he stood at the first. Then he proceeds to the last Jamra and throws at it seven [pebbles]. Let him not undertake any business but return home and spend that night at Mina. This night is called the night of the first disbanding. He must remain till morning [at Mina]. Then, when he performs the afternoon prayer on the second day of the days of Tashriq, he throws on that day twenty one pebbles just as he did the day before. He is, after that, free to choose between staying at Mina and leaving for Mecca; if he leaves Mina before sunset, there is nothing on him; but if he waits until night, it is recommended that he not leave [Mina] but rather spend the night [there] in order to throw on the day of the second disbanding twenty one pebbles as previous. A blood-offering [is required if the pilgrim] fails to spend the night [at Mina] and to throw, the meat of which should be distributed as alms [to the poor]. He may visit the House [Ka'ba] during the nights of Mina, provided that he will spend the night only at Mina. The Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- used to do that. Let him not fail to attend obligatory prayers with the Imam at the mosque of Khayf, for its merit is great. Then, when he proceeds from Mina, it is better for him to stay at al-Muhaṣṣab [a place] at Mina to perform the 'Aṣr, Maghrib, and 'Isshā' prayers, then have a short nap for this is a custom that is reported by a group of companions -- may God be gracious to them. [However] if he has not done this, there is no harm to him.

VIII. On the manner of the Lesser Pilgrimage and that which follows it up to the farewell circumambulation. Whoever intends to perform the Lesser Pilgrimage before his Major Pilgrimage of after it, must perform the major ablution, wear the ihram dress as previously [mentioned in connection with] the Major Pilgrimage, and enter into sanctification for the Lesser Pilgrimage from its station (miqāt). The best station for it is Jiʿrāna, then Tanʿīm, then Ḥudaybiya. He then declares his intention (nīya) to perform the Lesser Pilgrimage and recites the talbiya. He goes to the mosque of ʿĀ'ishā -- may God be gracious to her -- and performs two rakʿas supplicating as he wishes, then goes back to Mecca while still crying out the talbiya till he enters the Sacred Mosque (al-Masjid al-Ḥarām). When he enters this mosque, he ends the talbiya and circumambulates [the Kaʿbā] seven times and runs [between Ṣafā and Marwā] seven times, in the manner already described. When he finishes, he shaves his head, and his Lesser Pilgrimage is thereby completed.

It is recommended that the residents of Mecca perform the Lesser Pilgrimage and circumambulation frequently, and also that they look at the House [Kaʿbā] frequently. When [the pilgrim] enters [the Kaʿbā], let him perform two rak'as in between the two poles, for that is most meritorious, Let him also enter it barefooted and with respect. It was said to one of [the Fathers], "Have you entered the house of your Lord today?" He said, "By God, I do not see that these two feet [of mine] are worthy to circumambulate around the house of my Lord, then how can I see them as worthy to tread the house of my Lord, when I know where they have walked?" Let him drink much of the water of Zamzam, and let him draw the water himself as far as possible, then

quench his thirst and fill up his belly saying, "O God, make it a remedy for every disease and sickness, and provide me with sincerity, certainty and good health both here and in the hereafter." He -- the Blessings and Peace of God be upon him -- said, "The water of Zamzam is [useful] for every thing for which it is drunk" meaning that it cures every disease intended [when drinking it].

IX. On the circumambulation of farewell. Whenever it appears to him [suitable] to return to his home country after the completion of the Greater and Lesser Pilgrimages, let him first fulfil his business, then pack up, and let him consider his farewell to the House to be his final business. His farewell [means] that he will circumambulate its seven [circuits] as previously [described] but without haste (ramal) and without re-arranging the garment (ʾidṭibāgh). When he finishes that, he performs two rak'as behind the Place [of Abraham] and drinks from the water of Zamzam, then goes to the Multazam, supplicates [there] and beseeches [God] saying, "O God, the House is Your House and the slave is Your slave and son of both Your slave and Your bondmaid. You carried me upon [the Back of] a creature which You have subjected to me until You brought me to Your Land, and led me with Your grace [to Your Holy places] and helped me to perform Your Pilgrimage. If You have been pleased with me, [please] increase Your pleasure in me; otherwise, bestow some favour upon me now before I am separated from Your House. This is the time of my leaving [for home] if You permit me, [though I am not leaving in order] to exchange [any thing] for You or for Your House, or because I am displeased with You and Your House. O God, Accompany me with health in my body and impeccability

in my religion, and make good my end and provide me with Your obedience for ever, as long as You keep me alive; and bring together for me all that is best of this world and the world to come. You are powerful over all things. O God, let not this be the end of my covenant with Your Sacred House; if You let let it be the end of my covenant, then give me Paradise as a compensation." It is most desirable that he keeps his eyes constantly on the House until he leaves it.

X. On the visit to Medina and Proprieties. He -- the Blessings and Peace of God be upon him -- said, "Whoever visits me after my death becomes as one who visited me during my life time." And he -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- also said, "Whoever obtains wealth and has not come to me has neglected me." And again, he -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- said, "Whoever comes to me as a visitor and with no other interest but to visit me, it is fitting that God Most High should make me an intercessor for him." Whoever intends a visit to Medina must invoke blessings on the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- frequently on his way.

When his eyes fall upon the walls of Medina and its trees, he says, "O God, this is the shrine of Your Apostle, make it for me a protection from Fire and a refuge from punishment and evil reckoning." Let him perform the major ablution before entering [Medina] at the well of Harra, and let him use scent and wear his best clothing. Then when he enters it, let him enter with humility and respect saying, "In the name of God and the religion of the Apostle of God-- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- O my Lord, let my entry be by the gate of truth, and let my exit be by the gate of truth, and

grant me from Your presence a helping power."

Then he goes to the mosque, enters it and says a prayer of two rak'as near the pulpit, standing with the pillar of the pulpit opposite his right shoulder and facing the column next to which is the box (Ṣundūq) with the circle indicating the Qibla of the mosque before his eyes, for that was the stance of the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- before he re-arranged the mosque. Let him try his best to pray [as though he were] in the original mosque before it was expanded.

Then, he comes to the tomb of the Prophet -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- and stands by [the Prophet's] face, that is by turning his back to the Qibla and facing the side of the tomb at [a distance of] about four cubits from the pole that lies on the corner of the wall of the tomb. He must also see that the chandelier is above his head. It is not customary to touch the wall or to kiss it, for to stand at a distance is nearer to veneration. Let him stand and say,"Peace be with you, O Apostle of God. Peace be with you, O Prophet of God. Peace be with you. O Trustworthy of God. Peace be with you, O Beloved of God. Peace be with you, O Chosen one of God. Peace be with you, O Selected one of God. Peace be with you, O Ahmad. Peace be with you, O Muhammad. Peace be with you, O Father of Qasim. Peace be with you, O Eradicator [of unbelief]. Peace be with you, O Final [of the Prophets]. Peace be with you, O Bringer together. Peace be with you, O Announcer of good news. Peace be with you, O Warner. Peace be with you, O Purity. Peace be with you, O Pure. Peace be with you, O Most Benign of the children of Adam. Peace be with you, O Leader

of the Apostles. Peace be with you, O Seal of the Prophets. Peace be with you, O Apostle of the Lord of all the worlds. Peace be with you, O Commander of goodness. Peace be with you, O Opener of righteousness. Peace be with you, O Prophet of mercy. Peace be with you, O Guide of the nation. Peace be with you, O Commander of the elegant ones. Peace be with you and with the people of your house from whom God has removed all uncleaness and has purified completely. Peace be with you and with your righteous wive, the mothers of believers. God rewards you on our behalf the best reward ever bestowed upon any Prophet on behalf of his people, or upon any Apostle on behalf of his people, and He grants you mercy whenever you are remembered by those who remember [you], and whenever you are forgotten by the careless ones. [God] grants you mercy, among the first and the last, [the mercy which is] the best, the fullest the highest, the greatest, the most pleasant and purest mercy ever granted to any of His creatures. And as He delivered us through you from staying, and opened our eyes though you after blindness, He [also] showed us the right way through you after we were ignorant [of it]. I testify that there is no deity but God alone. He has no partner, and I testify that you are His slave and His Apostle, His trustworthy one and His elect, and His chosen among His creatures. I testify [again] that you have delivered the message, fulfilled the trust, counselled the people, fought your enemy, showed your people the right path, and worshipped your Lord until death came to you. The blessing of God be upon you and your kind family -- may you and they be granted Peace, nobity, honour, and greatness." Then if the pilgrim was requested [by someone else] to communicate a special greeting [to the Apostle of God], he says,"Peace

be with you from so-and-so, peace be with you from so-and-so."

Then, let him go back one cubit and salute 'Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq -- may God be pleased with him -- for his head lies by the shoulder of the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- while the head of 'Umar -- may God be pleased with him -- lies by the shoulder of 'Abū Bakr -- may God be pleased with him.

Then, he goes back one cubit and salutes al-Fārūq 'Umar -- may God be pleased with him -- and says, [talking to both 'Abū Bakr and 'Umar] "Peace be with you, O you two helpers of the Apostle of God, the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- you two who assisted him in the propagation of the religion while he was alive and attended to the affairs of religion within his community after him, following his steps in all this and practicing his custom. May God grant you the best reward any two helpers of any Prophet in His religion." Then, he goes back and stands beside the head of the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him --[that is] between the tomb and the pole nowadays, and faces the Qibla. Then, he praises God Most High and glorifies Him, and prays much for the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him. Then he says, "O God, You have said -- and Your saying is true: "And if they had come to thee when they had wronged their souls, and asked forgiveness of Allah, and if the Messenger also had asked forgiveness for them, they would have surely found Allah Oft-Returning with compassion and Merciful [4: 65]. O God, we have heard Your saying and have obeyed Your command and have betaken ourselves to Your Prophet seeking Your intercession through him for our sins and other burdens [of evil] that weigh heavily upon

our backs. We are repentant of our faults and confess our errors and shortcomings. Therefore accept our repentance and let this Your Prophet to intercede for us, and elevate us by virtue of his rank with You and by virtue of his merits in Your eyes. O God, forgive the Emigrants and the Helpers; forgive us and our brothers who preceded us in the faith. O God, let this not be the last covenant with the tomb of Your Prophet and with Your Shrine, O Most Merciful of all those who show mercy."

Then, he goes to the Meadow (al-Rawḍā) and performs two rak'as and offers supplication in so far as he is able, in keeping with his saying -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him, "What is between my tomb and my pulpit is one of the meadows of Paradise, and my pulpit lies on my Pool." Let him pray by the Pulpit. It is recommended that he put his hand on the lowest knot /of the Pulpit/ on which the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- used to put his own hand during the sermon. And it is recommended that he on Thursday goes to 'Uḥud in order to visit the tombs of the martyrs and perform the morning prayer in the mosque of the Apostle of God. Then, he goes out and returns again to say the afternoon prayer in the mosque. Thus no obligatory prayer is missed in the congregation at the mosque. It is also recommended that he goes out every day to Baqīʿ, after paying a salute to the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- in order to visit the tomb of ʿUthman -- may God be gracious to him -- and the tomb of Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī -- may God be gracious with them. There also are the tombs of ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn, Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, and Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad -- may God be gracious

with them. Then, he prays in the mosque of Fatimah -- may God be gracious with her -- and visits the tomb of Ibrahim the son of the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- and the tomb of Safiyah, the aunt of the Apostle of God-- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him. All this is in Baqīʿ.

It is recommended, too, that he goes to the mosque of Qubā, every Saturday and pray in it, because it is reported that the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- said,"Whoever goes out from his house and comes to the mosque of Qubā, and prays in it has performed that which is equal to a Lesser Pilgrimage." [It is recommended further] that he goes to the well of ʾArīs, for it is said that the Prophet -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- spat in it; and it is by the mosque,so that he may perform the minor ablution with [its water] and drink from it. [Finally] he comes to the mosque of conquest (masjid al-fatḥ) which lies on the trench (khandaq) as well as to other mosques and shrines.

It is said that there are in Medina altogether thirty mosques and shrines known to the people of the town. Therefore let [the pilgrim] visit as many as he is able. Likewise, [it is recommended] that he attends the wells at which the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- used to perform ablutions, and from which he used to drink; these are seven wells. [Let him do that] seeking the healing and blessing of him -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him. If it is possible for him to stay in Medina, out of respect for its inviolability, this has a great merit, for he -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- has said, "No one endures

patiently its (i.e. Medina's) hardship and severity, but I will be an intercessor for him on the Day of Resurrection." And he -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- said, "He who is able to die in Medina let him do so, for no one dies in it for whom I will not be an intercessor or a witness on the Day of Resurrection."

Then, when he has discharged himself of his responsibilities and inteds to depart from Medina, it is recommended that he goes [again] to the exalted tomb and repeat the invocation of visit, as [described] previously; and [let him] bid farewell to the Apostle of God-- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him-- and beseech God to grant him a return [once more] to him, and ask Him [also] for safety in his journey. Then let him perform two rak'as as in the Lesser Meadow, that is in the place where the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- used to stand before the Closet (maqṣūrah) of the Mosque was expanded. When he goes out, let him put forth his left leg first, then the right, and say, "O God, grant mercy to Muḥammad and to the family of Muḥammad, and let it not be the last covenant with Your Prophet. Remove my sins, by virtue of my having visited him, and let peace accompany me in my journey and make easy and safe my return to my family and home country, O Most Merciful of those who show mercy." Let him give alms to the neighbours of the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- as much as he can; and let him also go to the mosques that lie between Medina and Mecca, one by one, and pray in them. They are twenty [in number]

A Section On the Supererogatory
Rites Connected with the Return
from Journey

On returning from an expedition of Greater or Lesser Pilgrimage, the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- used to repeat "Allah 'Akbar" three times at the beginning of every ascent to [higher] ground, and used to say, "There is no deity except God, Alone. He has no partner; His is the kingdom and for Him is praise, and He has power over all things. We are returning repentant, worshipping, prostating ourselves to our Lord, and prasing [Him]. God has fulfilled His promise, and has succoured His slave, and has defeated His foes single handed." In other versions [it is added], "And everything is dying save His essence; the rule is His and to Him you return." So, it is befitting for [the pilgrim] to follow this custom on his return.

When he approaches his home town, he coaxes the animal [he is riding] and says, "O God, make for us there a resting place and a good provision." Then sends someone to his family to inform them of his arrival lest he reach them unexpectedly. This is the custom. It is not befitting, moreover, to knock at [the door of] his family in the night. When he enters the town, let him go directly to the mosque to perform two rakʿās. This is the custom which the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- [himself] observed.

When [the pilgrim] enters his house, he should say, "Repenting - Repenting to our Lord, and returning [to Him such a return] that will leave out [nothing unforgiven] of our sins." And when he settles in his house, it is not befitting to forget what God has bestowed upon him, namely, the visit to His house, His shrine, and the tomb of His Prophet -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him --

or to deny that favour by returning to carelessness, inadvertence, and involvement in disobedience, for that is not a sign of the accepted Pilgrimage. The sign is rather [the pilgrim's] return in a state of indifference to this world and preoccupation with the hereafter. Indeed the sign is [the pilgrim's] readiness to meet the Lord of the House, now that he has had a meeting with the House.

The Third Chapter Concerns
The Exact Proprieties
and the Hidden Acts

The explanation of the exact proprieties which are ten:

1. The first is that the provisions [of the pilgrim] be lawful lawful and that [his] hand be free of [any] business that may preoccupy [his] heart and disperse his resolution, so that his concern will be solely with God the Most High, and [his]heart will be at ease and will concentrate on the remembrance of God Most High and on the magnification of His sacred signs. It is reported by [members of the Prophet's] household that, "When the Time drew near, people would go to the Pilgrimage in four [different] groups -- their rulers [go] for excursion, their wealthy people for commerce, their poor for begging, and their [Qur'an] reciters for fame." There is, in the [above] tradition, an allusion to the all wordly objectives that may be imagined in connection with the pilgrimage; all this prevents [a pilgrim] from [the attainment of] the merit of Pilgrimage, and excludes him from the position of the Pilgrimage of [virtuous people], especially if [the pilgrim] was performing the Pilgrimage solely on behalf of someone

else for a [set] fee, thus seeking [to gain] the word through an action that pertains to the hereafter. All the pious and deeply religious have disapproved of such things, except when the pilgrim intends to remain [permanently] in Mecca and has no [other] means to get there. If such be his purpose, there is no harm in his receiving [renumeration]. In the case he is not using religion as a means to [achieve] worldly [goals], but is using the world in order to achieve religious [purposes], his aim ought to be to visit the House of God Most High and to assist his Muslim brother by discharging the obligation [to perform the Pilgrimage] on his behalf. To such a case the [following] saying of the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- is applicable: "God Most High will admit three people to Paradise for one Pilgrimage: the testator, the executor, and the one that performs Pilgrimage on behalf of his brother." I do not say that the fee is not lawful or that it is illegal after he has discharged the Islamic obligation [of Pilgrimage] for himself. However, the best thing is not to do [such things], and not to adopt this as his livelihood and trade, for God Most High gives the world through religion but not religion through world. There is a tradition which says. "The case of him who carries on war for the sake of God Most High and receives pay is like the case of Moses's mother -- Peace be on him -- who gave suck to her child and took her pay." Whoever accepts pay for performing the Pilgrimage in the manner of Moses mother's -- there is no harm in his doing so, for he is taking it just to enable himself to [perform] the Pilgrimage and the Visit. He is not performing the Pilgrimage in order to take the pay, but takin the pay in order to perform the Pilgrimage

as was the case with Moses mother when she took pay just to facilitate her giving suck and obscure her identity from them.

2. The second is [that the pilgrim] not assist enemies of God Most High by paying them the toll. [the enemies of God] are those princes of Mecca and waylaying bedouins who hinder [men] from [reaching] the Sacred Mosque. Giving money [toll] to them means to support injustice and to facilitate its causes for them, which is similar to personal assistance. Therefore, let [the pilgrim] be courteous in seeking a way out; but if he is unable [to find a way out], then, as one of the 'Ulema' has said -- and one can hardly object to this statement--, "It is more commendable to refrain from performing the supererogatory Pilgrimage and to return back [home] than to assist the transgressors, for this is an innovation which has been innovated, and in yielding to it one makes it a permanent custom. [Furtermore] there is in the paying of tolls humiliation and dishonour to Muslims." It makes no sense to say, "This is taken from me by force", for is he [who made such statement] had remained in his home or had returned half way, nothing would have been taken from him. Or it mat be that he gave evidence of possessing the means of luxury so that the demands [for toll] were increased in his case; if he had been in the habit of the poor, no such demands would have been made. Therefore, he is the one who brings himself to the state of being force.

3. The third [propriety is that the pilgrim] have abundant provisions and give and spend generoulsy without parcimony or extravagance, but with frugality. I mean by extravagance enjoying oneself with [different] delicious foods or satiating oneself with different

drinks as is the habit of luxurious people. As for generous giving [of alms], there is no extravagance in it, for there is no goodness in extravagance and no extravagance in goodness as it is said. Giving out one's provisions during the Pilgrimage is a spending for the sake of God Most High. One dirham [spent for this purpose] has the value of seven hundred dirhmas. Ibn ʿUmar may God be pleased with him -- said, "It is [a sign] of the nobility of a man to have [abundant] provisions in his journey. "And he used to say, "The best pilgrim is the one who is most sincere in his intention, most pure in his spending and best in [degree of] certainty. "And he -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- said, "The accepted Pilgrimage has no reward but Paradise," and it was said to him, "O Apostle of God, what makes a Pilgrimage to be accepted?" He said, "Good speech and the giving of food [to the needy]."

4. The fourth is that [the pilgrim] avoid fool talk,profligacy and quarrelling, as the Qur'an declares. "Fool talk" is a noun comprising all nonsense, indecent and obscene language, including talking in an amatory and provocative manner with women and flirting with them. [It also includes] conversation about sexual intercourses or its preliminaries, for that excites the desire for sexual intercourse which is forbidden. Whatever incites what is forbidden is itself forbidden. "Profligacy" is a noun comprising all disobedience against God Most High. "Quarelling" means to go to excess in disputing and arguing about things which provoke ill feeling and in the same moment dissipate the will and contradict good conduct. Sufyan [al- Thawri] has said."Whoever uses fool talk has rendered his Pilgrimage invalid." The Apostle of God made good talk and feeling [the poor] a [sign] of an accepted Pilgrimage.

Quarrelling /however/ contradicts "good talk". Therefore, he ought not to raise frequent objection against his friend, his camel driver or other companions; let him /instead/ soften his manner /literally "side"/ and be civil /literally "lower his wing"/ with travellers to the House of Gos Most High and maintain good conduct. Good conduct does not mean avoiding harm, but tolerating it. It is said that journey is called "safar" /in Arabic/ because it unveils /yasfiru/ the manners of people. For this reason. 'Umar -- may God be pleased with him -- said to one who pretended to know a /certain/ man, "Did you accompany him in a journey through which noble mindedness is proven?" "No", said the man. /'Umar/ said, "I do not think that you know him."

5. The fifth is that he performs the Pilgrimage on foot if he is able to do so, for that is preferable. 'Abdullāhi ibn 'Abbās -- may God be pleased with them -- ordered his children, when he was dying, saying, "O my children, perform Pilgrimage on foot, for the one who performs the Pilgrimage on foot /accomplishes/ with every step he takes the equivalent of seven hundred good deeds of the sanctuary (ḥaram)." Someone said /to him/, "What /is the value/ of the good deeds 'of the sanctuary'?" He said, "One such good deed is equal to one hundred thousand /ordinary good deeds/." the meritoriousness of walking during the /actual/ rites of Pilgrimage, and during the journeying from Mecca to the Place of Standing and to Mina, is more certain than /that of walkin/ on the way /to Mecca/. If the pilgrim adds to the walking the sanctification /for Pilgrimage/ from his home, that is said to be /one sign/ of completion of the Pilgrimage, 'Umar, 'Alī and ibn Mas'ūd -- may God be pleased with them -- considered this to

be the meaning of the Most High's statement, " And complete the Hajj (Pilgrimage) and the 'Umrā [the Lesser Pilgrimage] for the sake of 'Allah" [2: 197] . Other ulema said that riding is more commendable [than walking] because of the spending and provisioning [involved] in it, and also because the pilgrim is less likely to become restless or to incur harm [while riding] and is more likely to have sound health and to complete the Pilgrimage properly. In reality, this [letter view] does not contradict the former. Rather, one should explain the matter by saying that walking is best for him who finds walking easy: [on the contrary] if it weakens him and leads him to bad conduct and to imperfect performance [of his duties] then riding is preferable for him, just as fasting is preferable for a traveller or sick man as long as it does not weaken [the one fasting] and [lead him to] bad conduct.

One of the Ulema was asked whether one may perform the Lesser Pilgrimage walking or should hire a donkey. He answered, "If it is harder for him to hire a donkey [literally, if the weight of the dirham is heavier] than to walk, it is better for him to hire the donkey, but if walking is harder for him as is the case with wealthy people, then, to walk is better." It is as if [this Scholar] has interpreted the matter as a striving against the self. There is some merit to this view. However, it is best to walk and spend that money on a good [cause] than to give it to the donkey-driver in return for causing trouble to the beast. If the soul of the [pilgrim] is unable to embrace both harship and decrease of wealth, then, what [that scholar] says is not far [from the truth].

6. The sixth [propriety] is that the pilgrim should not ride on anything other than a Zāmilā. Let him avoid the Maḥmal unless he is

afraid that he cannot hold himself firm on the Zāmilā for a good reason. The Maḥmal should be avoided for two reasons: (1) to make the burden lighter for the camel, the Maḥmal being a shardship for it, and (2) to avoid th habit of luxurious and haughty. The Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- performed Pilgrimage on a camel with a ragged saddle under him and a shabby plush that was worth only four dirhams; and he circumambulated [the Ka'bā] on a camel to let people see his method and customs; then, he -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- said, "Learn from me your rites." It is said that these litters (Maḥmals) were invented by al-Ḥajjāj, and that the 'Ulema of this time had disapproved them; [for example] Sufyān al-Thawrī reported that his father had said, "I went out of Kūfa to al-Qadisiya [on my way] to perform the Pilgrimage when I found people from other countries, and I saw all the pilgrims were on Zāmilas, Jawāliqāt and Rawāhil. I did not see them but burdened [literally, with litters]." Ibn 'Umar used to say, whenever he saw the drapes and litters that were invented by al-Ḥajjaj, "Real pilgrims are few though the caravan is great." Then he looked at a poor, shabby man with baskets under him and said, "This is one of the true pilgrims."

7. The seventh is that the pilgrim be shabby, dishevelled and grimy, not giving much attention to decoration or to the means of ostentation and self-exaltation. Otherwise, he would be counted among the haughty and luxurious, and excluded from the company of the weak, the poor and the pious elect; for, according to the tradition of Faḍāla ibn 'Ubayad, [the Prophet of God] -- the blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- ordered [people to keep] dishevelled and unshod, and forbade

luxury and ostentation. It is related also in a tradition, "The pilgrim is only the one who [remains] dishevelled and grimy." God Most High says, "Then let them accomplish their needful acts of cleansing" [22: 30]. Al-tafath [in the verse] means a state of being dishevelled and grimy, and "cleansing" means: by way of shaving [the head] and cutting of the moustache and fingernails.

ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb -- may God be pleased with him -- wrote to the chiefs of the army [saying], "Put on worn out [garments] and lead a rough life." It is said that the best [literally, adoonment] of the pilgrims are the Yamanites because they keep the look of humility and weakness and the manner of the FareFathers. The pilgrim should in particular avoid the colour red in his dress and all ostentation generally whatever its nature. It is reported that he -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- was once on journey and his entourage stopped at a place while the camels went out to pasture. [At this point, the Prophet] looked at the red cloths on the pack-saddles and said, "I saw that redness had dominated you." Thereupon, "We rushed to them and snatched them from the backs of the camels, so that some of the camels were startled."

8. The eight is that the pilgrim should treat the beast with kindness. Let him not overload it. The litter exceeds the limit of its strenght, and sleeping on it harms it and overburdens it. Therefore, godly people do not sleep on the beast but nap while they are sitting, and they do not stay on them a long time. He -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- said, "Do not take the back of your beasts as chairs." It is recommended that the pilgrim should get off his beast

every morning and evening in order to relieve it. This act is custom- and there are many traditions of the Fathers on it. One of the Fathers used to hire /a beast/ with the understanding that he would not dismount, and would pay the money in full, then, he would dismount in order to be kind to that beast and so that kindness would be recorded among his other good deeds and counted in his favour and not in the favour of the hirer. Whoever harms a beast and overloads it will be required /to pay/ for it on the Day of Judgement. 'Abū al-Dardā said, when he was dying to a camel of his, "O camel, do not accuse me and take your complaint to God, I have not overloaded you." On the whole, there is a reward /in return to every kindness done to/ any living thing. Let the pilgrim observe the rights of both the beast and the hirer. There is /great/ happiness and pleasure for the beast and the hirer from every hour that he dismounts. A man had once requested ibn al-Mubarak saying, "Have this letter with you in order to deliver it /to its consignee/." He said, "/Wait/ until I ask permission from the cameleer for I have only hired it." Note how scrupulous he was over taking a letter that had no weight. There is prudence in such scrupulousness, for whenever a door is opened to something small, it little by little gets opened wider.

9. The ninth is that /the pilgrim/ approaches God by shedding blood /as an offering/, though this is not obligatory upon him; and let him try his best to make /the offering/ from the fat and costly live-stock. Let him eat from it if the /offering/ is supererogatory, otherwise, he is not allowed to eat it. The word of the Most High, "And who so respects (Yuʿazzim) the sacred signs of Allah--" (22:33)

have been explained as having the sense of making fair and making fat. It is best to drive the sacrificial animal from the miqat if that will not cause [undue] hardship and suffering to him. Let [the pilgrim] avoid bargaining in buying [the animal] for the Fathers used to pay a high price and avoid bargaining in respect to three things: the offering, the sacrifice and the slave [to be freed] because the best of these is the most costly and most precious to its owner. Ibn ʿUmar reported that a she-camel was given as a present to ʿUmar, then it was demanded from him at a price of three hundred dinar, and he asked the Apostle of God [permission] to sell it in order to buy cows with its price; but [the Apostle of God] prohibited him from doing that. [Instead] he said to him, "make an offering of it", for a little of something good is better than a lot of something inferior. There is is the three hundred dinars the value of thirty cows in which there is much meat but it is not meat that is the object of concern but [rather] the sanctification of souls, and its purification from misfortune during the Pilgrimage is equal to an expenditure "in the way of God" [i.e. for the sake of holy war] every dirham [spent on pilgrimage or on the holy war] is equal to seven hundred dirhams [spent otherwise], and is [also] equal to hardships [incurred] during holy war; for [the pilgrim] there is for every injury endured and a loss incurred a rewar; therefore, nothing from him will be lost of sight in the eyes of God Most High. Other signs which are said to indicate that the Pilgrimage has been accepted is that [the pilgrim] turn [henceforth] from his former disobedience and that he substitute bad cousaques with good ones, and places of entertainment and negligence with places of recollection [i.e. dhikr] and watchfulness.

An explantion of the hidden acts: how one is to be sincere in one's intentions (nīya); how one is to receive edification from the Holy Places, and to reflect upon them, keeping in mind their secrets and meanings from the beginning of the Pilgrimage to the end.

Know that the Pilgrimage begins with understanding -- I mean [by that], understanding of the position of Pilgrimage in Islam. Then [follows] a longing to [perform] it, then the [actual] decision [to proceed], then the severance of any relation that may hold one back, then the purchase of ihram garment, then the regardliness and adornment with the Grace of God Most High, for "Their flesh reaches not Allah, nor does their blood, but it your righteousness that reaches Him" (23:38). That [sanctification] is obtained only by seeing to it that the [offering] is precious in quality whether it be great or little in quantity.

The Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- was once asked, "In what does the [true] piety of the Pilgrimage consist ?" He said "In "'ajj" and in "thajj." "'Ajj" is the raising of the voice with the Talbiya and "thajj" is the shedding of the blood of a sacrifice." 'Ā'ishā -- may God be pleased with her -- reported that the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- said, "No person does [anything] on the day of sacrifice that God the Most

High likes more than the shedding of the blood [of a sacrificial animal], for [the animal] will appear on the day of Judgment with its horns and hoofs, and the blood is spilt in the presence of God Most High even before it touches the ground; therefore, be pleased with it." In the Tradition [it is related that] "Every bit of wool on its skin is accounted to you as a good deed, and likewise every drop of its blood; it will be put on the scale; therefore, rejoice." He -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- said, "Select your sacrificial animal, for they are your mounts on the day of Judgment."

10. The tenth is that [the pilgrim] be good-humoured with respect to what he spends and with respect to the offering which he makes as well as with respect to the loss and misfortune that befall him in wealth and body. If such [a misfortune] has befallen him, that is a sign that his pilgrimage has been accepted, for a purchase of provisions, then the hiring of a camel. Then [comes] the [actual] departure, then the journeying in the desert, then the sanctification al Mīqāt and the [chanting] of the talbiya, then the enterance into Mecca and the fulfilment of the acts [of Pilgrimage] as previously [mentioned]. There is in each one of these things a remembrance for him who will remember, a lesson for every one to learn, an exhortation for every true disciple, and instruction and direction for every intelligent [person]. Let us [now] indicate the keys to each of these things, so that one the door is opened to them and their causes are known their secrets will be revealed to every pilgrim according to the clearness of his heart, the purity of his inner [self] and the abundance of his intelligence.

1. As for understanding: Know that there is no access to God

Most High except through disdain of bestial passion, avoidance of idle pleasures, and contentment with the bare necessities of life and devotion wholly to God Most High on every [occasion], whether one is active or at rest. It is for the sake of this that the monks of the previous religions isolated themselves from other people and lived on mountain-tops, preferring savagery to human society in order to keep company with God Most High. They abondoned present enjoyments for the sake of God Most High and took upon themselves strenuous tasks out of craving for the world beyond. God Most High has praised them in His Book saying, "That is because amongst them are savants and monks and because they are not proud" / 5:83).

When all this passed away and the people began to follow their lusts and forstook [the path of] devotion to the service of God Most High, turning [rather] away from Him, He the Most High sent His Prophet Muhammad -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- to restore the heavenly way [of life] and to set the Law of [previous] Apostles once again on its course. People of the [previous] religious asked him about monasticism and itineracy in his religion. He -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- said, "For us God has replaced there [things] with holy war and with the magnification of God on every high place" -- that is, with the Pilgrimage. Once, upon being questioned about itinerants, he -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- said "They are the ones who fast." So, God Most High has blessed this community by making Pilgrimage a monasticism for them. Accordingly, he has exalted the Ancient House by joining it to his lofty Self, and by establishing it as a destination for His slaves, making its surroundings

a sacred enclosure (haram) for His House, thus exalting it. He has made 'Arafat as a water-chute[1] to the courts around its pool[2] has heightened the inviolability of the place by forbidding its game and trees, and has made it on the model of the castles of kings. [Therefore] visitors from all directions go to it dishevelled, dusty, humble before the Lord of the House, submitting themselves in obedience to His Majesty and in passivity to His Glory, confessing that He is above being confined by a house or encompassed by a town; for this demonstrates most eloquently their bondage and slavery and most perfectly their submission an obedience. Accordingly, He assigned to them, in [the House], some acts which involve no fraternizing among people and whose meaning no intellect can find out, such as casting pebbles at stones and running to and from repeatedly between Safa and Marwa for example. It is through such acts that perfect bondage and slavery is manifest. Zakat is kindness; its meaning is understood and intellect has an inclination to it. Fasting is a break with bestial passion, which is the tool of the enemy of God, and involves concentration on worship by abstaining from [normal] occupations. Bowing (Rukn') and prostration (Sujud) in prayer [express] submission to God Most High through acts which represent the [outward] forms of submission; and souls have fellowship through [common] glorification of God Most High. But the running to and fro [between Safa and Marwa], and the casting of stones and similar acts afford no [obvious] benefit to souls nor any natural sociobility; nor is the intellect able to discover their meaning. Therefore, there is no impetus to perform

2.

[1] al-Zabidi has it "squire" ميزاب

[2] "Sacred enclosure" حرم op.cit.

them other than the mere command [of God] and the intention to comply with that command, it being a command which requires obedience pure and simple. In such obedience the intellect desists from its [normal] operations and the soul and the [innate] disposition are detracted from their [proper] social course. For whatever the intellect understand, to that is nature inclined; this inclination thus cooperates with the command and together with it incites to action. Thus perfect bondage and slavery are hardly manifest. For this reason, he -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- said, with special reference to Pilgrimage, "Here I am in Pilgrimage, truly in devotion and slavery." He did not say this of prayer or anything else.

If the wisdom of Gos Most High has decreed that the salvation of people shall require that their acts be contrary to their natural inclinations and that the reins [of those acts] be in the hands of the Law such that they feel uncertain of themselves in [performing] these acts, in accordance with the requirements of submission and servitude -- for that whose meanings cannot be discovered is the most consummate of all the kinds of worship in cleansing souls and turning them away from the requirements of nature and ethics to the requirements of servitude: if you perceive this, you will understand that the surprise of people concerning these strange acts originates from the confusion about secrets of worships. This amount [of explanation] is enough to understand the underlying principles of the Pilgrimage, if God wills.

2. As for longing [to perform the Pilgrimage]: this results from understanding and from the realization that the House belongs to God

Most High, that it was established on the analogy of a royal palace such that whoever visits it is [in reality] visiting God Most High and whoever betakes himself to the House [while] in this life is worthy not to have his visit wasted, for the object of the visit, which is the vision of God Most High, will be granted to him in its fixed time in the Eternal Residence. For the finite and perishable eye is not prepared, while still in this life, to receive Light with which to see the Face of God Most High; it is not able to bear that Light, nor is it fit, because of its finiteness, to be adorned [with that Light]. But when it is granted immortality in the life to come and freed from the cause of change and mortality, it becomes ready for the Vision and the Sight. And because of [its intention] to visit the House and to look at it, it deserves to meet the Lord of the House by virtue of Gracious Promise. The longing to meet God Most High most surely makes one long for the means of that meeting. Besides, every lover is longing for everything that has any connection with his lover: the house is connected to God Most High; therefore it is proper for [the pilgrim] to have a keen desire for it just because of this connection, quite apart from any desire to receive the great reward which has been promised to him.

3. As for the decision [to proceed with the Pilgrimage]: let [the pilgrim] know that this decision means separation from his family and country as well as the abandonment of bestial desires and pleasures as one directs one's attention to visiting the House of God Most High. Let him realize the importance of the House and the grandeur of the Lord of the House. Let Him [also] know that he has intended

to do something of an extremely lofty and serious nature, and that whoever seeks after an important thing jeopardizes another thing. Let him [further] be sure that his decision is sincere in the Face of God Most High and far from the contaminations of hypocrisy and fame, and let him realize that [God] does not accept anyone who goes to Him or [accept] his deed unless he is sincere, and that it is a most despicable thing to go to the palace of king and his family while in reality one's aim is something else. Therefore, let [the pilgrim] rectify his intention in his mind; such rectification is through sincerity which is the avoidance of everything that contains hypocrisy and fame. Let him [finally] take that which is inferior in exchange for that which is superior.

4. As for the severance of relations: this means restitution for all injustices and sincere repentence before God Most High for all sins. Every injustice is a relation and every relation is like a creditor present [before the pilgrim] clinging to his neck, crying out [to those around him], saying, "Where are you headed? Are you going to the palace of the King of kings while you are neglecting His affair in your house, despising and neglecting Him? Are you not ashamed to go to Him as a disobedient servant would go to Him. Lest He rejects and not accept you? If you desire to have your visit accepted let His orders be executed, denounce all injustice, return to Him [by rejecting] all sins, severe your heart from all, turning back to what is behind you, so that you will be facing Him with the face of your heart as you are facing His House with the face of your exterior. If you do not do that, you gain nothing from your journey

except, firstly, toil and unhappiness, and then ultimately expulsion and rejection." Let [the pilgrim] severe all relations with his country in the same manner as one who departs from his country assuming that he will not return. And let him write his will to his children and family, for the traveller and his wealth are in danger except for that which safeguarded by God Most High. When severing his relations for the Pilgrimage journey, let him reflect on the severance of relations for the journey to the Last Abode, for [that journey] is before him and the journey he is undertaking is an expectation that the [last] journey will be made easier, for that journey is to an [everlasting] abiding place to which all things return. Therefore, it is not proper to ignore that journey while preparing for this one.

5. As for the provisions: let the [pilgrim] seek his provisions from a legal source; and if he senses within himself any desire for an abundance [of provisions] or seeks what will remain throughout the duration of his journey and will not spoil or change before the destination is reached, let him remember that the journey to the Last Abode is much longer than this journey, and that the provisions for it is piety. Whatever he thinks to be his provisions other than piety will remain behind him after death and disaapoint him. It will not remain with him. Therefore, let him beware lest those actions which are to be his provisions to the Last Abode not accompany him after death, being spoiled by the stains of hypocrisy and the contamination of negligence.

6. As for the riding beast: when [the pilgrim] has fetched it, let him thank God Most High whole heartedly for having subjected the beast to him in order to bear his affliction for him and to alleviate

his hardship, and let him remember at that time the mount that he will ride to the Last Abode; it is the bier on which he will be carried [after death]. For the Pilgrimage is somewhat parallel to travelling to the Last Abode. Let him reflect on whether his journey on this riding beast will be a suitable Provision for him on that journey [i.e. the journey to the Last Abode] on that riding beast [i.e. the funeral bier]. How near it is to him! For all he knows death may be near at hand, and he may ride mounted on the bier before [he has the chance] to ride mounted on the camel. That one will [someday] ride mounted on a bier is certain, while it is not certain that one can facilitate the means of travelling. How can one [allow oneself] to take precautions with regard to the means of travel, which are doubtful, and obtain provisions and a riding beast while neglecting [to prepare oneself for] the travelling which is certain ?

7. As for the purchase of the two ihram garments: let [the pilgrim] at this [point] reflect upon the windin sheet and his being wrapped in it, for he will wear and put on ihrām garments when he is near to the House of God Most High and it may be that his journey to it will not be completed; [on the other hand] he will most assuredly meet God Most High when he is wrapped up in the winding sheet. As he does not come to the House of God Most High except when he has broken with his usual mode of dress and form, so he will not meet God Most High after death except in a style of dress different from the style of dress of this Life; and the [iḥrām] garment is very much like that one [i.e. the winding sheet] as it is not sewn, just as it is the case with the winding sheet.

8. As for the [actual] departure from the home country: let [the pilgrim] know that he has departed from both family and home country, turning his face towards God Most High in a journey unparalleled among worldly journeys. So let him recall to his mind what he is intending [to do] where he is going, and whom he purposes to visit. [Let him know] that as he faces the King of kings he is among a throng of [the King's] visitors -- those who have been called and have answered, those who have been made to yearn and have yearned, have been made to rush and have rushed, those who have severed all connections, separated themselves from people, and have drawn near to the House of God Most High, whose case He has magnified, whose affair He has extolled, and whose degree He raised high. [These have gone to the House] to consent themselves with meeting it instead of meeting its Lord until the time when they are blessed with the fulfilment of their goal, and made happy with the Vision of their Lord. Let [the pilgrim] entertain in his heart the hope of [ultimate] arrival and acceptance, not making a show of his [good] deeds during the journey or of his separation from [his] family and wealth, but trusting in the Grace of God Most High and hoping for the realization of His promise [which is made] to everyone who visits His House. Let him, further, hope that if he does not reach [the House] but rather death overtakes him on the way, he will find himself before God Most High, because God Most High has said, "And who so goes forth from his home, emigrating in the case of Allah and His Messenger, and death overtakes him, his reward lies on Allah (4:101).

9. As for entering the desert up to the migat and beholding the mountain roads: Let him remember in connection with them what transfers

when one leaves the present world at death and [before one reaches] the miqat of the day of Resurrection --[let him remember] the terrors and demands that are in between. Let the terror of highwaymen be for him a reminder of the interrogation by Munkar and Nakīr; [let] the beasts of prey in the desert [be a remember of] the scorpions and worms of the grave as well as the snakes and serpents [which crawl] therein; and [let] the separation from one's family and relatives [be a remember of] the dreariness of the grave, its distress, and its loneliness. Let him obtain, through his action and sayings respecting all these dreadful things, provision against the terrors of the grave.

10. As for the state of sanctification [iḥrām] and the talbīya [i.e. recitation of Labbayka] from the mīqāt [onward]: let [the pilgrim] know that this has the sense of answering the call of God Most High. Therefore, have the hope that you will be accepted, as well as the fear that you will be told, "You are neither accepted [in my service, i.e. your talbiya is not honoured] nor blessed", so that you will waver between hope and fear, and be stripped of your might and power, [thereby] becoming [completely] dependent on the Grace and Generosity of God Most High. For the time of talbiya is the [real] beginning of the metter and the place of the danger. Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynā said, "ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn -- may God be pleased with them -- once performed the Pilgrimage. When he had entered the state of sanctification and was well mounted on his camel, his colour became pallid; then he trembled and a shiver befell him to the extent that he could not recite the talbiya. When it was said to him, 'Why are you not reciting the talbiya?' He said, 'I fear that it will be said to me, 'You are neither

accepted nor blessed.' And when he [later] recited the talbiya he fainted and fell off his camel. This continued to happen to him until he completed his pilgrimage. "Ahmad ibn al-Hawārī said, "I was with 'Abū Sulaymān al Dārānī -- may God be pleased with him -- when he declared his intention to enter the state of sanctification, but he did not recite the talbiya until we had walked for about one mile. Then a swoon came over him, and when he recovered consciousness he said, 'O Ahmed, God Most High has revealed to Moses, 'Bid the oppressors among the children of Israel to decrease their remembrance of me for I remember with a curse those among them who remember Me'. May God have mercy on you, O Ahmad - [A tradition] has reached me that he who performs Pilgrimage unlawfully and chants the talbiya, God Most High says to him, 'You are neither accepted nor blessed until you return that which is in your possession.' There is no assurance that the same will not be said to us." Let him who recites the talbiya remember when he raises his voice with the talbiya in the miqat his response to the call of God Most High when He said, "And proclaim unto mankind the Pilgrimage" [22:28], and [let him reflect on] the calling forth of the creatures by the blowing of trumpet, and their resurrection from graves, and their thronging together in the courtyard of the resurrection in response to the call of God Most High, being divided into two groups: those who have achieved nearness to God and those who are detested ones, those who are accepted and those who are rejected. [For these resurrected ones too will] waver at first between fear and hope, as does the pilgrim in the miqat, not knowing whether it will be possible for him to complete the Pilgrimage and be accepted or not.

11. As for the entrance into Makka: let [the pilgrim] remember then that he has arrived at the shrine of God safely and let him hope [at that place] to be saved from the chastisement of God Most High by virtue of his entrance [therein]. Let him fear that he may not deserve being near [to God], such that he will be by virtue of his entrance into the sacred place, ineffectual and deserving of chastisement. Let his hope be at all times predominant, for [God's] generosity is all-encompassing, the Lord is Merciful the honour of the House is great, the right of the visitor is honoured, and the security of the one who seeks protection and refuge is not neglected.

12. As for the first glimpse of the Ka'bā: it is recommended that [the pilgrim] recall at that time and place the majesty of the House in his [heart], and that he be deemed by virtue of the intensity of his magbification of the House, to be beholding the Lord of the House [Himself]. Yous should hope that God Most High will bless you with the Vision of His noble Face as He blessed you with the Vision of His majestic House. Thank God Most High for bringing you to this position and for joining you to the groups that came to Him. And remember [again] at that place the surging forth of people on the Day of Resurrection in the direction of Paradise, [of people] hoping that they all will enter it. [And reflect on] their division into those who are permitted to enter [it] and those who are driven away, [resembling] the division of pilgrims into those who are accepted and those who are rejected. Do not forget to remember with every thing you see the affairs of the world to come, for all the conditions of the world to come.

13. As for the circumambulation of the House: know that it is

/akin to/ prayer. Therefore, recall at that stage that which we have already mentioned in detail in the chapter on Prayer such as reverence, fear, hope and affection. Know that through circumambulation you resemble the Angels who attained nearness to God and who surrounded the Throne, circumambulating it. Do not think that the purpose behind circumambulation lies in your bodily circumambulation of the House; the purpose is rather circumambulation of you heart through recollecting God the Lord of the House, so that you begin the recollection only from Him and you complete it only through Him, just as you begin circumambulation from the House and complete it through /the House/. Know, too, that the noble circumambulation is the heart's circumambulation of the Lordship's Presence, and the House is a phenomenal model in the realm of earthly power of that Presence, which the eyes cannot see: this is the Realm of Spiritual Power (malakūt). Likewise, the body is a phenomenal model in the realm of the Seen of the heart, which is not perceived with the eye, for it is in the realm of the unseen. The realm of earthly power and sense experience (ʿālam al-mulk wa al-shahāda) is to him for whom God has opened the door to the world of the unseen and of spiritual power. This parallelism /between the seen and the unseen realms/ is born out by the fact that the House inhabited in the heavens is a counterpart to the Kaʿbā, and the circumambulation of Angels around the former is similar to the circumambulation of people around this /latter/ House. Since the level of the great majority of the people falls short of the /heavenly/ circumambulation, they are enjoined to simulate it as far as possible, and are promised that "He who imitate a people is one of them." And he who is capable of such circumambulation

is the one of whom it is said that the Ka'ba visits him and circumambulates him, as certain mukāshifīn [i.e. pious people that have insight into the unseen] say about some of the Friends of God Most High.

14. As for touching [the Black Stone]: belive "when you are performing this act that you are making an oath with God Most High to obey Him; then reslove to fulfil you oath, for whoever breaks an oath deserves chastisment, Ibn al-ʿAbbās -- may God be pleased with him -- has reported from the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- that he said, "The Black Stone is the right hand of God Most High on the earth; with it God shakes hands with His creatures as a man shakes hands with his brother."

15. As for the clinging to the curtains of the Kaʿbā and cleaving to al-Multazam [i.e. the place of holding]: let your intention in cleaving be to seek nearness [to God], [to show] affection and longing for the House and for the Lord of House, and also to obtain blessing by touching [the House], hoping to be fortified against Fire in every part of your body, for the sake of the House. Let your intention in clinging to the curtains [of the Kaʿbā] be persistence in seeking forgiveness and asking for peace, just as a sinner clings to the clothes of the one against whom he committed the sin, humbly beseeching his forgiveness and declaring to him that he has no refuge from him but in him and no shelter but his generosity and forgiveness, and that he will not let go of the hem [of his garment] until he has been forgiven and assured of peace in the future.

16. As for the running between Ṣafā and Marwā in the courtyard of the House: this resembles the movements to and fro of a slave in the

courtyard of a king, coming and going time after time, /thus/ showing his loyalty in service, hoping for a look of favour, in the manner of one who enters /the presence of/ a king and goes out without knowing what the king has ordered with respect to his case, acceptance or repulsion, so that he keeps coming back to the courtyard time after time, hoping to be forgiven in the second /time/ if not in the first. Let him ponder, while running between Ṣafā and Marwā, his fluctuation between the two pans of the Balance in the courtyard of the Resurrection. Let him compare Ṣafā with the pan of good deeds and Marwa with the pan of bad deeds. Let him reflect on his uncertainty before the two pans of the Balance, as he watches them increase in weight, fluctuating between chastisement and forgiveness.

17. As for the standing on /Mount/ 'Arafāt: remember from what you see of the crowding together of people, the raising of voices, the variety of languages, the attachment of /different/ groups to their leaders in their visitation of shrines, imitating them and following their steps -- /remember when you see all this/ the open place of the Day of Resurrection, the gathering of nations with their prophets and leaders, each nation's imitation of its prophet and craving for his intercession, and the wavering /of nations/ at that place between repulsion and acceptance. When you rrmember all this, let your heart cleave to submission and humility to God Most High, so that you will be resurrected among the group of triumphants and forgiven. And be certain that your hope is responded. For the /i.e. ʿArafāt/ is noble and forgiveness comes from the Divine Presence to the people as a whole only through the dear hearts of the Stakes of the Earth /'awtād al-'arḍ -

a category of saints/. The place is never devoid of some Substitutes[1] and Stakes /al-'abdāl wa al-'awtād/ or some Pious ones and Masters of Hearts. And if their resolutions coincide, and their hearts be directed exclusively to submission and humility /to God/, and their hands be raised up to God Most High, and their necks be submitted to Him, and their eyes be lifted up in the direction of the heaven, and they be all of one mind in seeking forgiveness, do not think that He will disappoint their expectations or allow their running (Sa'y) to be of no avail or hold back from them in storage the forgiveness which encompasses them. Thus it has bee said, "One of the greatest sins of a man is that he should be present at 'Arafāt, but still that God Most High has not yet forgiven him." It is as though the coincidence of resolutions and reliance upon the proximity of the Substitutes and Stakes who have gathered from all corners of the world is the secret of the Pilgrimage and the /sole/ object behind it. There is no way to elicit the forgiveness of God Most High like the joining together of resolutions and the cooperation of hearts in one time and at one place.

18. As for the throwing of pebbles: let your intention be to submit to the command /of God/, showing servitude and bondage, and arising only to obey without /any concern for/ benefit either to mind or soul.

Then make it your intention to imitate Abraham -- Peace be on him -- to whom the Devil - God curse him -- appeared at that place in order to cast doubt on his Pilgrimage or tempt him to /commit/ transgression, whereupon God Most High ordered him to throw pebbles at him to keep him away and to exterminate his hope. If the thought comes to

[1] Literally " of a class of Substitutes and Stakes".

you that Devil [really] presented himself to him [Abraham] and he saw him and therefore threw pebbles at him, but you [are something different], and Devil does not present himself to you, know that this thought is from the Devil and he is the one who put it in your mind to weaken your determination in throwing, and to make you imagine that is is a useless deed that resembles [mere] play, so that why should you bother yourself with it. Therefore, derive [this thought] away from yourself by diligence and by bracing yourself to throw [pebbles] at Satan inspite of Satan's [snares]. Know that you are throwing only outwardly at al-ʿAqabā while in reality you are throwing at the face of devil and breaking his back with it, for Devil will overcome only by your compliance with the commandment of God Most High, and by your magnifying Him because of His commandment alone and not because of any benefit to mind and soul. As for the "hady" offering you should know that it is a devotion to God Most High by virtue of its compliance; so accomplish your "hady" and hope that God Most High will free every part of your body from fire by virtue of the "hady". The promise has arrived thus; therefore the bigger the hady and the fuller its parts the more comprehensive will be your release from Fire.

19. As for the visit to Medīnā: when your eyes catch of its walls, remember that it is the town that was chosen by God Most High for His Prophet - the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- and made the destination of his Flight (hijrā); that it was his dwellingplace, in which he promulgated the Laws of his Lord Most High and the Sunna, fought his enemy and proclaimed his religion, until the time when God Most High caused him to die; then God established in it a burial ground for him;

and for his two ministers who maintained the truth after him -- may God be pleased with them. Next, imagine to yourself the places where the feet of the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- [have trodden] as he went about [the city], and [consider to yourself] that wherever your feet have trodden there too have his dear feet trodden; therefore take each step with tranquility and with awe. And remember his walking and traversing upon [the city's] roads; picture to yourself his humility and tranquility while walking, despite what God Most High has entrusted to his heart, such as his great knowledge [about God], the exaltation of his name alongside the name of the Most High to the extent that [God] has joined him to the remembrance of Himself, and the rendering vain of the deeds of those who villify him even by way of raising their voice higher than his. And remember the Grace that God Most High bestowed on those who enjoyed his companionship and were fortunate to have been with him and to have listened to his speech. Be exceeding by sorrowful over having been denied [the opportunity to be] his companion or the companion of his companions -- may God be pleased with them. Remember that it has not been given to you to see him in this life, and that to see him in the life to come is to place yourself in jeopardy; for it may be that you will grieve when you see him, having been barred from him [after] he had blamed you for bad deeds, as he said -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- "God will bring before me [on the Day of Resurrection] some people [who will call on me] saying, 'O Muhammad! 'O Muhammad! Then I say, My Lord! They are my companions! And God will say, 'You do not know what they have introduced after you [had died]'. Then I say,

'Go away." Therefore, if you neglect the sanctity of his law, even of a minute thing, you have no guarantee that you will not be barred from him because of you straying from his right way. Nevertheless, have great hope that you will not be barred from him, for you have been blessed by God Most High with faith and have been brought hither from your home country in order to visit him, [being motivated], not by any [concern with] commerce or wordly gain, but only by your love of him and your longing to see his traces and the wall of his tomb. Since, having not been [privileged to] see the Prophet [in this world], you have been prompted to travel by these considerations alone, you are most worthy to be looked upon by God Most High with [His] Gracious Eye.

When you reach the mosque [of the Prophet at Medīna], remember that it is the placethat has been chosen by God Most High for His Prophet -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- and for the first band of Moslems and the best of all, that the laws of God Most High were the first thing to be established in that place and that [this mosque] contained the best of all the creatures of God, living or dead. Increase your hope in God Most High, that He will forgive you for entering it. Enter with solemnity and reverence. How deserving it is [of solemnity and reverence it is] from the hear of every believer, as Abu Sulaymān is reported to have said: "'Uways al-Qarnī -- may God be pleased with him -- has performed Pilgrimage and entered Medina. When he stopped by the gate of the mosque, it was said to him,'This is the grave of the Prophet -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him'-- Thereupon, he fainted. When he awoke, he said, "Let me go out, it is not proper for me to be in a town where Muḥammada -- the Blessing and

Peace of God be upon him -- is buried."

20. As for the visit to the Apostle of God -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- it is befitting to stand in front of him -- as we have already described -- and to visit him in death as you would visit him alive; do not approach his grave except as you would approach his noble person, were he alive. And as you would have believed it unseemly to touch his body or to kiss him, but would have stood back to be seen by him, likewise do [now], for the touching and kissing of shrines are a custom of Christians and Jews. Know that he is aware of your presence, your standing and your visit, and that your greetings and prayers reach him. Therefore, picture in your mind his noble likeness laid out in the grave by your side, and reflect on his exalted position. The Prophet -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- is reported to have said,"God Most High has appointed [a special] Angel as an agent to his grave in order to convey to him the greeting of anyone among his community." This being true of one who has not visited his grvae, what then, of the one who has left his home country and passed over desert after desert longing to meet him, but content with seeing his shrine, since he has missed seeing his noble face ? He -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- has said, "Whoever prays for me once, God prays for him ten times." If this be his reward for his verbal prayer, what of his coming in person to visit him? Then, proceed to the pulpit of the Apostle - the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- and imagine the Prophet to be ascending into it -- the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him -- picture in your mind his beautiful appearance, as though he were in the pulpit surrounded by the

Emigrants and Helpers -- may God be pleased with them -- urging them through preaching to obey God Most High. And /finally/ ask God Most High not to separate between you and him an the Day of Judgment. These are the duties of the hear throughout the acts of the Pilgrimage.

When /the pilgrim/ finishes them all, he should keep his heart in /a state of/ sadness, and fear; /it is proper that/ he remain uncertain whether his Pilgrimage has been accepted, /in which case/ he has been confirmed as belonging to the group of beloved ones, or not, /in which case/ he has been included among the banished ones. Let him find this out through /the testimony of/ his heart and his actions; if he finds that his heart is more dischanted with the Abode of vanity /i.e. the World/, and more inclined toward the Abode of Fellowship with God Most High to the Law, let him be certain that /he is/ accepted; for God accepts only him whom He loves. And whomever He loves He helps, showing to him the effects of love; such a one he protects against the power of his enemy, 'Iblīs -- God curse him. If this apparent /from the pilgrim's piety and lawful behavior/, then it is an indication of his acceptance. If the opposite is the case, then it is certain that toil and trouble will be the reward of his journey. We seek protection through God Most High from that.

T H E   E N D.

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